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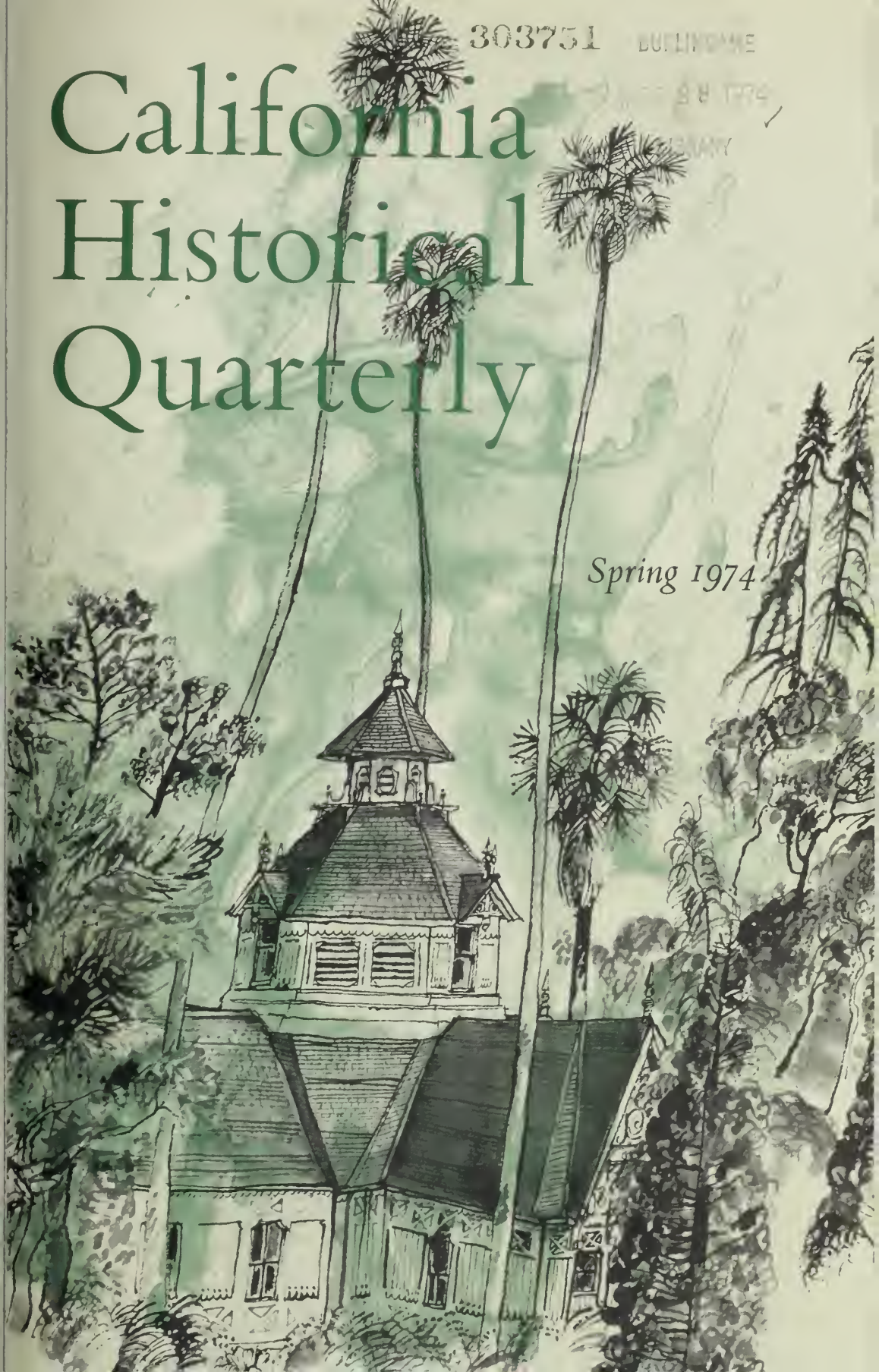
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# California Historical Quarterly

*Spring 1974*



# California Historical Society

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COVER: It was a hot humid August at the Los Angeles Arboretum when artist Earl Thollander sketched Lucky Baldwin's Coach Barn, which is open to the public. The barn is painted a glistening white with bright red trim. It is a fancy barn, built in 1879, to house Baldwin's horses and coach four-in-hand.

The cover water color is among eighty by the author included in a forthcoming society publication, *Barns of California*. For more evocative glimpses of this fleeting California rural heritage, turn to page 41.

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# California Historical Quarterly

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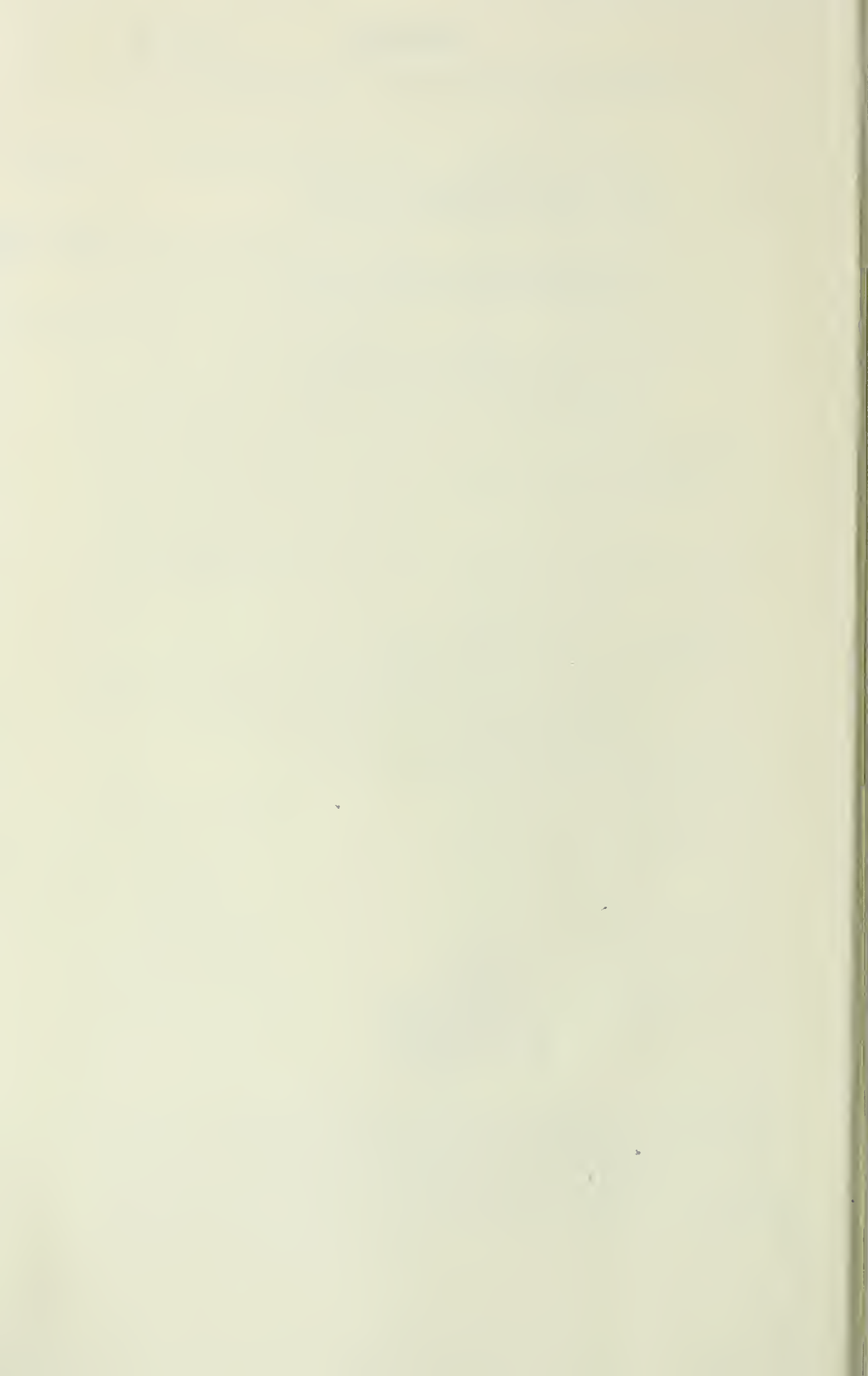


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Von Hernando Cortes y r z y seiner  
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In 4 z dieser hat der Kay  
 kaiser den fünften  
 ach yam: Indiam  
 gewunnen.



This water-color likeness of Hernán Cortés is probably the most authentic of all the portraits of the New World explorer. It was painted by the German artist, Christopher Weiditz, who sketched Cortés in Spain in the 1540's.

# Cortés and the First Attempt to Colonize California

ROBERT RYAL MILLER

*Professor of history, California State University, Hayward*

**H**ERNÁN CORTÉS, THE SPANISH CONQUEROR of the Aztecs of Mexico, was also the first effective European discoverer of California. Sailing from the west coast of New Spain in 1535, the fifty-year-old conquistador landed on the Baja California peninsula, which he thought was an island, and he named it Santa Cruz. Once ashore he established a settlement and took formal possession of the land, a ceremony required by existing Spanish laws. A few days later Cortés wrote a letter from Santa Cruz, the first letter from California, in which he briefly described his voyage and what he had seen thus far of the land and its native inhabitants. A contemporary notarized account of Cortés' "Act of Possession" of Santa Cruz and the original copy of his letter written from there are in the Spanish archives in Seville. Before taking a closer look at these historical items, it will be useful to review some of the events that led to Cortés' expedition to California.

Soon after the fall of the Aztec capital Cortés became active in exploration along the Pacific Ocean coast of New Spain. By the spring of 1522 his captains had reached the Pacific at the mouth of the Balsas River (present boundary between Michoacan and Guerrero) and in Oaxaca near the mouth of the Tehuantepec River. The following year some of his men moved north to Colima where they founded a town by that name. In a letter to the Spanish king, dated May 15, 1522, Cortés referred to his discovery of the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), mentioned that he was building ships to explore it, and asked for a commission giving him specific rights of discovery.<sup>1</sup> He established his west coast shipyards at Zacatula, near the mouth of the Balsas, and at Tehuantepec where the Chimalpa River flows into the Laguna Superior. These locations had ample timber, but anchors, sails, cordage, and naval supplies had to come from other colonial areas or from Spain.<sup>2</sup>

Belief in the existence of a strait uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, which would provide a more convenient route from Spain to the Spice Islands, influenced Cortés' plans for exploration. The Spanish king, convinced that there must be such a strait to the north of Panama, ordered Cortés to search for it.<sup>3</sup> The conqueror sent an expedition up the east coast of Mexico, but delays plagued his operation on the Pacific side. First a fire destroyed a warehouse of critical naval stores, then when two ships were finally ready at Zacatula in 1527, a royal order

diverted them across the Pacific to the Moluccas. Cortés then ordered five new ships to be built at Tehuantepec.<sup>4</sup>

Rumors of pearls and Amazon warriors with gold-tipped spears also drew Cortés toward the northwest of New Spain. Some pearls were found along the west coast at Zacatula and in Colima, and in 1524 Cortés wrote the king that his men had heard of "an island populated only by women . . . they say it is very rich in pearls and gold."<sup>5</sup> He added that he would try to discover the truth about the island. A romance of chivalry, *Las Sergas de Esplandían* by García Ordóñez de Montalvo, published in Seville the previous decade and read by some of the conquistadors in New Spain, gave impetus to these reports. In that book there was an island named "California" where Amazon women lived and where pearls and precious stones were plentiful.

Between 1524 and 1530 political affairs kept Cortés from personally directing expeditions northbound along the Pacific coast of New Spain. His disastrous march to Las Hibueras, Honduras (1524-1526), to put down a revolt by one of his own men, was followed by government power struggles in Mexico City which led to his trip to Spain (1528-1530). When Cortés returned to Mexico in 1530, he came with the titles of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca and Captain General of New Spain, with a royal contract authorizing him to make new discoveries from the Pacific ports of New Spain. The concession read in part:

Since Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis of the Valley, wishing to serve us and for the welfare and growth of our royal crown, has offered to discover, conquer, and settle whatever islands there may be in the South Sea of New Spain . . . and whatever part of the mainland has not yet been discovered . . . we promise to make you our governor for life of all the said islands and lands which you discover and conquer . . . and that you will have civil and criminal jurisdiction in the cities, towns, and populated places in them.<sup>6</sup>

Before Cortés returned from Spain, one of his political enemies, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, president of the first *audiencia* (administrative court) of New Spain and governor of Pánuco and New Galicia, began to explore and conquer territory in the northwest of New Spain. He and his men advanced across the present states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and into Sinaloa, where they established many towns including Guadalajara, Compostela, and Culiacán. Some islands near the west coast were also discovered by these conquistadors.<sup>7</sup> Guzmán's *entrada* was illegal according to Cortés because he and his men had previously discovered, conquered, and claimed much of the area. In addition, he maintained that it was in violation of his 1529 royal contract for discovery. The dispute led to the famous legal case called the "Proceso" which eventually was brought before the Council of the Indies in Spain.

When Cortés, on returning to New Spain in 1530, learned of Guzmán's activities in the northwest, he decided to carry his own discoveries beyond those of his rival. He imported two shiploads of horses from the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo, and he activated his Tehuantepec shipyard. During his absence in Spain, five vessels that he had under construction had rotted, and the equipment had been stolen or destroyed by actions of Guzmán and hostile government officials; thus, he ordered the construction of two new ships in Tehuantepec, and in 1531 he purchased two others which were on the stocks in Acapulco.<sup>8</sup> The



marquis was spurred on by a royal order of July 12, 1530, notifying him that he must begin the building of his vessels within a year and have his fleet ready to sail in two years, under penalty of losing his privilege.<sup>9</sup>

When the two vessels at Acapulco were completed in the late spring of 1532, Cortés arranged that his cousin, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, would head an exploratory group bound for the northwest coast of Mexico. His instructions were to follow the coast, keeping the mainland in view while looking for islands, and to go beyond the territory reached by Guzmán and take possession of that land. Although Hurtado's men discovered and took possession of the islands known as Las Tres Marías and sailed northwest along the coast about a thousand miles, the expedition was a disaster. The flagship, *San Marcos*, was broken up near the mouth of the Fuerte River, and all hands were killed by hostile Indians. The *San Miguel*, driven ashore at Banderas Bay in Jalisco, was abandoned by the crew, and all but three were killed by the natives. Because it was in his jurisdiction, Guzmán took possession of the wrecked ship.<sup>10</sup>

Before he knew the fate of Hurtado, Cortés went to Tehuantepec where he remained for more than a year readying the next expedition with two ships built in that port. At the end of October, 1533, the vessels departed with a total of forty-three sailors and officers under the command of Diego Becerra de Mendoza who was aboard the *Concepción*. The other ship, the *San Lázaro*, captained by Hernando de Grijalva, soon became separated from the flagship and, after discovering an island about four hundred miles west of Colima (one of the Revilla Gigedo Islands), put in at Acapulco in February, 1534.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, aboard the *Concepción*, the pilot, Fortún Ximénez de Bertandoña, organized a mutiny and took over the ship by force. One survivor testified that "in the middle of the night, while Diego Becerra was sleeping, the said Fortún Ximénez and the above mentioned [brother of Ximénez] gave him many knife thrusts and wounds in the head, body, and arms, from which he died, and they threw him into the sea, and they wounded the purser [Juan de Carasa] of the ship."<sup>12</sup> The wounded men and two Franciscan friars were put ashore on the coast; then the mutineers sailed the *Concepción* westward where they anchored in a bay of what they thought was an island, undoubtedly La Paz Bay, Baja California. When Ximénez and about twenty of his men went ashore, all but one were killed by the Guaycuras Indians—the sole survivor escaped by swimming to the Spanish vessel where he reported the massacre. He also brought news that the natives had pearls. Then the four or five sailors aboard took the *Concepción* to the mainland where they landed near Chiametla which was near the mouth of the Baluarte River and about halfway between Compostela and Culiacán. Ashore, they told about an island of pearls and were soon arrested by a captain of Guzmán.<sup>13</sup> One man escaped and eventually reported the news to Cortés.

When Cortés learned about Guzmán's detention of his ship and men and when he heard of pearls in the land discovered by Ximénez, he determined to go in person to assert his authority and to visit the pearl island. He also protested the seizure to the *audiencia* in Mexico City, who ordered Guzmán to return the ship and enjoined him from going to the island discovered by Ximénez. Then, to avoid a clash between the two conquistadors, a similar injunction was issued to Cortés, who protested vehemently.<sup>14</sup>

News about the newly-discovered island arrived while Cortés was contem-

plating abandoning discovery expeditions in favor of becoming a trader. In a letter to the Council of the Indies he wrote:

Being hesitant to follow up promptly this discovery [attempt] because of the bad luck of the two previous armadas . . . and for having left me overspent and even exhausted, I had decided to become a merchant, and with a ship that I had left and one being built, to send horses and other things to Peru and pay the debts I owed . . . [when] I learned almost miraculously, about the diligence that Nuño de Guzmán employed in guarding the secret that there had arrived in a port of his jurisdiction the flagship on which Diego Becerra and up to seven men had been murdered, and that the traitorous pilot [Ximénez] and the others had been killed by the natives of an island which had been discovered. And because of the good news that they brought from that land, Nuño de Guzmán had taken the ship and all aboard . . . and he was hurrying to send people in that ship to the discovered land. . . . I decided to abandon the trade route, to speed up [construction of] some ships which I had in the shipyard, and to lift my skirts and go to see this land.<sup>15</sup>

As soon as Cortés announced that he was recruiting soldiers and colonists for an expedition which he would personally lead, volunteers flocked to his standard.

Late in 1534 Cortés, with about two hundred soldiers, some settlers, and one hundred and fifty horses, started advancing overland from Cuernavaca to Chiametla, Sinaloa, his point of embarkation. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who fought with Cortés in the 1520's and half a century later wrote a history of the conquest, says that the total retinue was "three hundred and twenty persons, including the wives of thirty-four married soldiers . . . three smiths with their forges, two shipwrights with their tools . . . expert pilots and sailors . . . clergymen, physicians and surgeons with their pharmacy."<sup>16</sup> Fray Martín de la Coruña, a Franciscan, accompanied Cortés. Three ships at Tehuantepec took on supplies of biscuits, meat, oil, vinegar, wine, maize, fodder, munitions, and other products before proceeding to the rendezvous of Chiametla where other ships were scheduled to arrive later with reinforcements. On January 9, 1535, Cortés was in Colima and a month later at the port of Calagua (Zalagua or Selagua on Manzanillo Bay) where he wrote that he and his forces were going to continue overland another one hundred leagues to Chiametla "so that the horses would arrive healthier at the new land, and because the ships, without passengers, could carry more supplies."<sup>17</sup> By the end of February the marquis and his followers were at Ahuacatlán, Nayarit, not far from the headquarters of Guzmán.

Advised that Cortés and his small army were approaching, Nuño de Guzmán at first opposed their entry into his territory. On February 20 he sent an aide, Pedro de Ulloa, to Cortés' camp with a legal injunction which read in part:

Go to wherever the Marquis of the Valley might be and in the name of his Majesty, and in mine . . . notify him that he may not enter this government jurisdiction, and if he has entered, that he leave it immediately; thus he will perform service to his Majesty, [since he advances] without my license and express mandate.<sup>18</sup>

Four days later the emissary Ulloa encountered Cortés at the town of Ixtlán where, before witnesses and a notary, he read the order from his governor. Cortés' reply was a legal and literary masterpiece—reflecting his earlier training in law as an apprentice to a notary. Citing Spanish law, he said that he was not obliged to respect Guzmán's order because it was not prepared in proper legal form and

because "all the lands, provinces, kingdoms, dominions, and their seas and ports, are communal and free for all the vassals of his Majesty to travel and pass through, embark or navigate, which freedom no one can curtail without the express and special commission of his Majesty." Then Cortés mentioned that he held the office of captain general with authority to conduct military operations in all of New Spain. Basing a final argument on his 1529 royal concession to discover lands and islands along the Pacific coast, Cortés insisted that Governor Guzmán, instead of opposing him, was obligated by that contract "to support and render assistance to his expedition, of such importance to his Majesty, the exaltation of the Christian religion, and the growth of the kingdoms and dominions of his Majesty."<sup>19</sup>

Persuaded either by this letter, or by the lack of power to oppose the marquis' advance, Guzmán permitted the group to move on toward Chiametla. Surprisingly, when Cortés reached Compostela, probably early in March, 1535, he spent a few days in his rival's home. Nuño de Guzmán did, however, continue to write letters to authorities in Mexico City and Spain protesting the invasion of his territory and complaining that the soldiers were disturbing the Indians and taking food supplies by force.<sup>20</sup> He later testified that:

The Marquis came to the territory of [New] Galicia mistreating the Indians and sending them scurrying to the woods. . . . I had him in my house four days, supplying all his army of everything of which he had need, and I gave him Indians [bearers] and maize to take him to the town of Espíritu Santo [near Chiametla], because he had none.<sup>21</sup>

In April of 1535 the initial elements of Cortés' fleet and his soldiers and colonists joined forces on the west coast of Mexico for their crossing to the "island" discovered by Ximénez about sixteen months earlier. The port of embarkation, San Pedro Chiametla, was on the left bank of the Baluarte River less than a league from where it flows into the Pacific. Nearby were tiny Spanish settlements named Espíritu Santo and La Purificación. At Chiametla one hundred and thirteen infantry soldiers and forty cavalymen boarded the ships from Tehuantepec: *San Lázaro*, *Santa Agueda*, and *Santo Tomás*. Cortés' secretary, chaplain, and biographer, the historian Francisco López de Gómara, said that "300 Spaniards, 32 women, and 130 horses were left behind under Andrés de Tapia for a later crossing."<sup>22</sup> Departure for the "island" was on April 18, 1535. It seems likely that one or two sailors who had been with Ximénez now sailed with Cortés, a distinct advantage in uncharted waters.

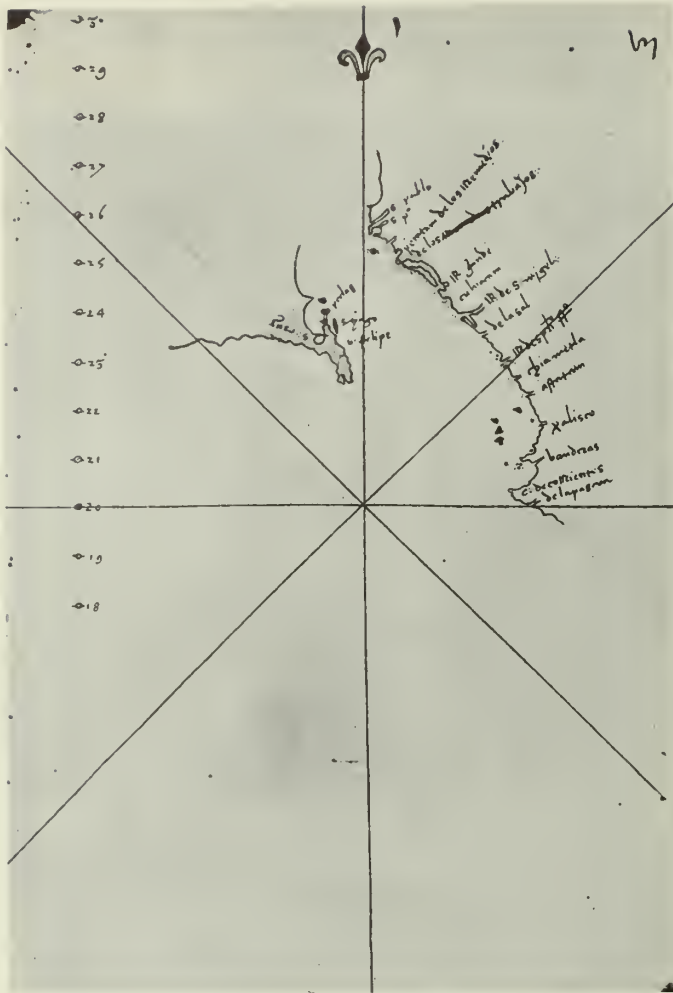
The best way to describe Cortés' crossing of the gulf and his first days in Baja California is to cite in full his little-known letter written from Baja two weeks after his landfall and sent to Cristóbal de Oñate in Compostela:

Honorable Sir:

With the haste of my departure, I did not write you from the port of Espíritu Santo, and now this is only to let you know how I arrived at this port and bay of Santa Cruz, the day of the Holy Cross [3rd] of May, in honor of which this name was given to it.<sup>23</sup>

I sighted land on May 1st, day of the two apostles [Felipe and Santiago],<sup>24</sup> and because there was a range of mountains in the part of land we saw, the name of San Felipe was given to the highest range. On this same day near this land we discovered an island that





This map (drawn c. 1536), often called "Cortés' map of California," shows the Bay of La Paz and Cape San Lucas, Baja California, and a number of sixteenth-century ports on Mexico's west coast.

was named Santiago [later called Cerralvo], and then we saw two others, one was named San Miguel Island [Espíritu Santo], and the other San Cristóbal [San José].

I took sixteen days on the crossing because of many calms and foul weather which I had. Of all the company only six horses were lost, among which was the sorrel which I was very sorry to lose. All the other horses and all the personnel arrived in good health thanks to our Lord.

I do not write to you about the form and condition of this land because I have not gone out to . . . [original torn] of dispatching these ships for the [remaining] people and horses . . . [torn]. We have seen many people and some have come . . . [torn] large quantity of pearls and fisheries of . . . [torn] found. When these ships leave, I will go inland . . . [torn] on returning will have more news of its secrets and more opportunity to enable us to report what we have seen.

I am not writing to the governor [Nuño de Guzmán] until there will be something more certain to write other than sending compliments to his honor. And to the Protector [of the Indians of New Galicia, Reverend Father Cristóbal de Pedraza],<sup>25</sup> also, Sir, give my regards and [say] that I will always take care to write to him and that I do not do so now for the reasons stated.

These letters I entrust to you, Sir; as soon as possible have them sent by a trustworthy

person who will be going to Mexico [City] to my cousin the licentiate [Juan] Altamirano.<sup>26</sup>

May our Lord watch over your noble person, Sir, as you desire.

From the port and bay of Santa Cruz, May 14, 1535. At your service.

The Marquis<sup>27</sup>

Cortés' letter from California is important because it clearly settles the question about his date of arrival in that land. Although some historians have cited the correct date, others have been off by six months or one or two years. Francisco López de Gómara in the second part of his *Historia General de las Indias*, published in the mid-sixteenth century, said that Cortés first arrived in Santa Cruz on May 1, 1536, a year later than the actual date. Unaccountably, the entry was changed to January 1, 1536, in the 1826 and later editions of Gómara's work.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, over the centuries historians who relied on Gómara repeated the erroneous dates.<sup>29</sup> As recently as 1964 an edited translation of Gómara's *Historia*, published under the title of *Cortés: The Life of The Conqueror by his Secretary, Francisco López de Gómara*, says that the marquis first landed at Santa Cruz "on New Year's Day of 1536."<sup>30</sup> Not only Gómara, but another sixteenth-century historian, Díaz del Castillo, wrote in his *True History* that Cortés "with a good voyage, arrived at the island, and it was in the month of May of 1536 or 1537."<sup>31</sup>

Besides Cortés' letter, another contemporary document that sheds some light on his activities in Baja California is the official Act of Possession, dated May 3, 1535. By performing a legally-prescribed ceremony, sixteenth-century Spaniards claimed territorial rights to newly discovered lands; cession of the lands by any native inhabitants was not considered necessary. Symbolic acts of possession were designed primarily to give notice to later European explorers that the territory had already been claimed even though there were no visible signs of occupation. Sometimes a cross or royal standard was erected, or a stone pillar or cairn set up, with or without a coat of arms or other inscription. Other acts included cutting trees, drinking water, or moving stones from one place to another. These acts were supposed to be witnessed by a royal notary, who would send a report back to Spain.<sup>32</sup> If natives were present, the conquistadors were required to have a notary read to them, through an interpreter, the *requerimiento*. This was a long politico-religious manifesto which called on them to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope and kings of Castile, on pain of enslavement and confiscation of their wives and goods.<sup>33</sup>

Obedying these Spanish regulations and customs, Cortés took formal possession of California on the day he first landed there. Excerpts from the notarized account give some details:

On the third day of the month of May, 1535, about midday, the very noble lord, Don Hernando Cortés, Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea for his Majesty, arrived at a port and bay in a newly-discovered land in the South Sea. . . . Upon arrival he went ashore with personnel and horses, and there on the beach . . . in the name of his Majesty he took possession of the newly-discovered land where we were and all the rest adjacent to it and within its limits, so that from it as a start, the disclosure, conquest and settlement of it could be pursued, and as a sign and token of said possession, the Marquis named the port and bay "Santa Cruz." Then he

walked over the ground from one point to another, threw sand from one place to another, and with his sword he cut some trees that were there, and he commanded those present to accept him as his Majesty's governor of the lands, and he carried out other acts of possession.<sup>34</sup>

Witnesses to this ceremony, whose names appear at the end of the legal document cited above, were Doctor Juan González de Valdivieso, Juan de Jaso, Alonso de Navarette, Fernando Arias de Saavedra, Bernardino de Castillo, Francisco de Ulloa, and Martín de Castro, a royal notary. Names of fifty-six men who claimed to have been in California with Cortés are in a sixteenth-century listing which was later published in Spain and Mexico.<sup>35</sup>

The reaction of the Indians at La Paz Bay to the Spanish ritual and speeches is not recorded, nor is there any evidence as to whether the *requerimiento* was read to them. But we do know that there were Franciscans present who probably took that occasion to initiate their missionary work. The Act of Possession says that "all this transpired peacefully and without contradiction from any person," a marked contrast to the hostility shown Ximénez the previous year. No doubt the Indians were impressed by the large force of armed and armored men with Cortés, some of them astride their war-horses.

One week later, on May 10, Cortés again assembled all his men in California for a legal ceremony, a notarized account of which was sent to Spain. This time the marquis brought out and exhibited the 1529 royal contract authorizing him to make discoveries in the Pacific and naming him governor of any newly-discovered lands. By his command,

The royal provision was read aloud by Francisco de Pezafiel, public crier, to the formation of all the soldiers who were present, each one of whom said that he accepted the lordly Marquis as governor of this land, in the name of his Majesty. Then his lordship, in the presence of all, took the solemn oath which is required in such a situation, and he asked witnesses to testify.<sup>36</sup>

Official witnesses were the same as on the Act of Possession, except that Francisco de Ulloa was named in the latter and Alonzo de Ulloa in the proclamation.

Unfortunately, there is no contemporary sustained or detailed account of Cortés' activities in California, and it is difficult to reconstruct what happened from the fragmentary references and documents. All we know is that he discovered the south coast of the peninsula, the cape now known as Cape San Lucas, and the region around La Paz Bay. In a 1539 law suit the marquis filed a small map showing the southern part of Baja California from La Paz Bay to Cape San Lucas, and ports on the mainland from the Sinaloa River (called the San Pedro and San Pablo) southward to Cape Corrientes.<sup>37</sup>

On the California peninsula Cortés led or sent out some land reconnaissance parties, but apparently they found little of interest. Two of his men testified that they obtained forty pearls from the Indians, but the gems were burnt because the natives heated the oysters to extract the pearls.<sup>38</sup> Unlike the Indians on the mainland, the natives of California did not cultivate maize or other plants—they lived by fishing, hunting, and gathering fruits, roots, and herbs. And they were very reluctant to share their meager catch with the newcomers. Since the Spanish soldiers had been accustomed either to purchasing or taking foodstuffs from

noble s<sup>ra</sup>. Con la p<sup>re</sup>sa que tiene en mi p<sup>re</sup>sa  
 tida no se esfuerza desde el p<sup>re</sup>to del d<sup>ni</sup>do s<sup>to</sup>. Vagora en esta n<sup>re</sup>se, ofe-  
 ce mas d<sup>ni</sup> h<sup>re</sup>tes saber como lleque a este p<sup>re</sup>to y haya de santa cruz de  
 de santa cruz de mayo. por cuyo Respeto. se le p<sup>re</sup>sa este nombre. R<sup>on</sup>ose  
 la t<sup>ra</sup> p<sup>re</sup>mito de mayo dia de los desposu<sup>to</sup>les y por en la parte q<sup>da</sup> R<sup>on</sup>ose  
 cimos en las mas altas s<sup>er</sup>rias de esta t<sup>ra</sup>, se le p<sup>re</sup>sa nombre s<sup>er</sup>rias de san-  
 phelipe. En esta misma dia. de cubrimos una isla de esta cerca de esta t<sup>ra</sup> d<sup>ni</sup>  
 sellamo isla de santiago. y luego vimos, otras dos. que la una se non<sup>ra</sup>  
 isla de san<sup>ti</sup> m<sup>ia</sup>uel. y la otra de san<sup>ti</sup> x<sup>pe</sup>nal. t<sup>ra</sup>ide en el viaje xxi.  
 dias. acabla de las muchas calmas y t<sup>po</sup>s contrarios que tuu<sup>o</sup>, f<sup>u</sup>lta-  
 ron me de toda la comp<sup>añ</sup>a sus cauallos. entules quales fue el yno e l  
 bouerico que nos otu<sup>o</sup> por poca perdida de todos los demas cauallos. y  
 to la la gente llegaron muy buenos. vendi<sup>o</sup>lo m<sup>u</sup>do s<sup>ra</sup>. no es el. no de  
 la man<sup>er</sup>a y disposicion de esta t<sup>ra</sup>. por q<sup>ue</sup> nos salido. a  
 de despachar s<sup>to</sup>s nau<sup>es</sup>. por la gent<sup>e</sup> y caual-  
 e nos visto mucha gente. y algunos enb<sup>er</sup>di  
 mucha cantidad de perlas. y pesquerias dell<sup>as</sup>.  
 hallado. e repartiendos e s<sup>to</sup>s nau<sup>es</sup>. entrare la t<sup>ra</sup>  
 buelta q<sup>ue</sup> bueluan autamas noticia del secreto della. y mas luego p<sup>re</sup>se-  
 derez haze R<sup>el</sup>acion de lo q<sup>ue</sup> v<sup>u</sup>icimos visto. no esfuerza al s<sup>ra</sup> q<sup>ue</sup> u<sup>o</sup>te-  
 hasta que aya cosa cierta que le podamos esfuerza. mas de que me.  
 encomiendo. en su m<sup>u</sup>do. y al p<sup>re</sup>tor tambien s<sup>ra</sup> d<sup>ni</sup>us m<sup>u</sup>do enco-  
 mendas y q<sup>ue</sup> yot<sup>re</sup>ne c<sup>u</sup>ya do de le esfuerza s<sup>ra</sup>mp<sup>re</sup>. y q<sup>ue</sup> a n<sup>re</sup>lo haq<sup>ue</sup>  
 por lo q<sup>ue</sup> tengo d<sup>ni</sup>do. e f<sup>u</sup>scartas. os encomiendo s<sup>ra</sup> haq<sup>ue</sup>is emb<sup>er</sup>di con p<sup>re</sup>-  
 sona. cierta q<sup>ue</sup> f<sup>u</sup>ere a m<sup>u</sup>do. all<sup>u</sup>do al t<sup>ra</sup>m<sup>u</sup>no m<sup>u</sup>do p<sup>re</sup>mo. le mas trueque.  
 se opudico. q<sup>ue</sup> d<sup>ni</sup>. m<sup>u</sup>do s<sup>ra</sup> v<sup>u</sup>ia noble persona como s<sup>ra</sup>. de f<sup>u</sup>ays. D<sup>ni</sup>te  
 p<sup>re</sup>to y haya de s<sup>ta</sup> cruz. xij. De mayo. De. D<sup>ni</sup> x<sup>vi</sup>.

The first letter from California was written by Cortés to Cristóbal de Oñate,  
 from the island of "Santa Cruz" or Baja California, on May 14, 1535.

Indians, a food shortage soon developed when the supply vessels were delayed.

Cortés twice sent his ships from La Paz Bay back to Chiametla for the re-  
 maining personnel and supplies. The second time a storm separated the vessels;  
 the smallest one made it to California, but the second ship was caught in shoals  
 near the mouth of the Guayabal River (seventeen leagues south of Culiacán),  
 and the third ship went aground near the port of Jalisco, whereupon the crew and  
 passengers returned to central Mexico. Meanwhile, Cortés used his one remaining  
 ship to search for the others, taking along about seventy men including smiths and  
 shipwrights. He found the ship near the Guayabal River, and after some repairs  
 to both vessels and the acquisition of additional supplies from Culiacán he re-  
 turned to California in the larger ship, leaving Hernando de Grijalva in command  
 of the smaller one. On the return crossing, when the pilot was accidentally killed  
 by a falling yardarm, Cortés himself acted as pilot. Meanwhile, in California the  
 supplies were desperately needed because the Spaniards were starving and so



weakened that they could not fish or hunt. By the time of Cortés arrival, five men had died, and soon others succumbed from overeating.<sup>39</sup>

Because of the precarious state of the colony, especially when Grijalva's ship failed to appear, Cortés decided to return to the mainland where he would search for the lost ships and organize a new armada with reinforcements. Another reason for his return was that the first Spanish viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, had arrived in Mexico City in mid-November of 1535, news that Cortés heard at Culiacán.<sup>40</sup> With a change in government, he was naturally anxious about his status and properties. At this juncture the marquis received a letter from his wife asking him to come back to Cuernavaca; this appeal apparently arrived with a caravel that came in search of him. So in the first part of 1536, Cortés, with most of his soldiers and colonists, departed from California, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in command of the colony "with thirty Spaniards, twelve horses, and supplies for ten months, including maize, sheep, bacon, pigs, chickens, and other necessities."<sup>41</sup>

From California the marquis proceeded toward Acapulco. Near the port of Matanchel (also called port of Jalisco, in Nayarit), Cortés rejoined Grijalva, whose ship was temporarily aground, and near there he also encountered two more vessels bringing men and supplies. The four ships then set sail for Santiago de Buena Esperanza (Manzanillo Bay), Colima, where they were joined by two additional ships that had been sent in search of Cortés. All six sails moved on to Acapulco, and from there Cortés went overland to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Later in 1536 Ulloa and the first California colonists abandoned their settlement on La Paz Bay and returned to Acapulco. In a letter to the king, Cortés explained that "because some of the relatives of those left in that land complained, our viceroy of this New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered me to send for the people and bring them back, which I did."<sup>42</sup>

Thus ended the first attempt of Europeans to explore and colonize California. Other voyages of discovery followed Cortés', as did attempts to fish for pearls, but permanent settlement by Spaniards in Baja California was delayed for more than a century and a half. In many ways, Cortés' venture was a failure. He spent thousands of ducats on ships and supplies, yet no great cities or architectural monuments were found; few pearls were obtained. There was no gold or silver nor any native commodities such as cacao or indigo ready to exploit; the Spaniards were unable to maintain a permanent settlement; and California Indians were not baptized or converted to Christianity. Positive results of Cortés' expedition to California are to be found in the realm of expanded geographical knowledge. In addition, many California "firsts" can be credited to his activities there: the initial attempt at colonization, the bringing of missionaries, the introduction of European livestock and poultry, the first letter and legal documents, and the earliest map showing any part of California. Clearly, the written history of California began with Hernán Cortés.

THE WATER COLOR on page 4 is through courtesy of the Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg. The map on page 10 is reproduced from Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, facing page 296 (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929). The original of the letter on page 13 is in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain.



## NOTES

1. Hernán Cortés to Charles V, May 15, 1522, printed in Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al Emperador Carlos V*, 159-160 (Paris, 1866).
2. Donald Brand, "The Development of Pacific Coast Ports During the Spanish Colonial Period in Mexico," *Estudios antropológicos publicados en homenaje al doctor Manuel Gamio*, 586, 588 (Mexico, 1956).
3. Charles V to Cortés, June 26, 1523, in Joaquín Pacheco and Francisco Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, XXIII: 366 (37 vols., Madrid, 1864-1884) (cited hereafter as P&C).
4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works*, Vol. XV: *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, 1531-1800, 22-24 (San Francisco, 1884).
5. Cortés to Charles V, Oct. 15, 1524, Gayangos, *Cartas*, 288-289.
6. Contract of Oct. 27, 1529, confirmed by royal *cédula* of Nov. 5, 1529, printed in P&C, XII: 490-495.
7. Guzmán's island discoveries in P&C, XV: 319-322.
8. Acapulco ships purchased from Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte on Nov. 4, 1531, Hernán Cortés, *Escritos sueltos; colección formada para servir de complemento a las "Cartas de Relación"*, 291 (Mexico, 1871).
9. Royal order in Vasco de Puga (comp.), *Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones de Su Majestad*, 41-42 (Mexico, 1563).
10. Hurtado's instructions in Cortés, *Escritos*, 196-205; fate of *Sau Marcos* crew in report of Diego de Guzmán, P&C, XV: 336; fate of *Sau Miguel* and crew in testimony of Nuño de Guzmán, July 26, 1532, P&C, XII: 443-446.
11. Bancroft, *Works*, XV: 45-46.
12. Testimony of mutiny survivors at an inquiry held in Dec., 1533, in Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain), *Patronato* 180, *Ramo* 52 (microfilm, The Bancroft Library, University of California). Ximénez' first name is sometimes given as Ortuño.
13. Nuño de Guzmán's version of the Ximénez expedition is in a document he presented in Madrid in 1540, P&C, XV: 346-347.
14. Bancroft, *Works*, XV: 48.
15. Cortés to Council of Indies, Feb. 8, 1535, in Gayangos, *Cartas*, 532.
16. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Genaro García, II:415 (2 vols., Mexico, 1905). Number of horses in Gayangos, *Cartas*, 533.
17. Cortés to Council of Indies, Feb. 8, 1535, in Gayangos, *Cartas*, 534. In Colima on Jan. 9, 1535, Cortés set up an entail for his heirs, Mariano Cuevas, S.J., *Cartas y otros documentos de Hernán Cortés novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo de Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, 151-170 (Seville, 1915). Salvador de Madariaga's biography, *Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico*, 464 (Miami, 1967), mistakenly says the marquis was in Tehuantepec in January, 1535.
18. Nuño de Guzmán's order to Cortés, Feb. 20, 1535, in P&C, XII: 448-450.
19. Cortés' reply to Guzmán, Feb. 25, 1535, in P&C: XII, 452-453.
20. Nuño de Guzmán to *Audiencia* of New Spain, Mar. 9, 1535; same to Council of Indies, June 7, 1535; same to Charles V, June 8, 1535, in P&C, XIII: 414-417, 443-449.
21. Nuño de Guzmán to Council of Indies, Mar. 20, 1540, in P&C, XV: 346.
22. Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico*, II: 196 (2 vols., Mexico, 1943).
23. Until 1960, when the celebration was suppressed by the Roman Catholic Church, May 3 was the feast day of the Holy Cross (Santa Cruz), commemorating the fourth-century finding of the cross of Jesus, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV: 482 (15 vols., New York, 1967).
24. May 1 is the feast day of the Apostles Philip and James (Felipe and Santiago).
25. In a letter dated June 5, 1536, Cortés identified the protector, whom he met in Compostela, and recommended him to the Council of the Indies, Cortés, *Escritos*, 267.
26. Juan Altamirano was left in charge of Cortés' affairs and estate when the marquis left for the Northwest.
27. Original signed copy of the letter in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), *Patronato* 16, No. 1, *Ramo* 15; permission to reproduce it obtained from the *Directora*, Srta. Rosario Parra Cala.

28. Cf. Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*, 282 (Antwerp, 1554), and *Historia de las conquistas de Hernando Cortés*, II:196 (2 vols., Mexico, 1826). The first edition was published in Saragossa, Spain, in 1552.

29. For examples see Francisco Antonio Lorenzana y Butrón (ed.), *Historia de la Nueva-España escrito por su esclarecido conquistador Hernan Cortes*, 324 (Mexico, 1770); Francis A. MacNutt, *Fernando Cortes and the Conquest of Mexico*, 428 (New York, 1909); Michael R. Martin and Gabriel H. Lovelitt (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 106 (Indianapolis, 1968).

30. Leslie Byrd Simpson, translator and editor, *Cortés . . .*, 399 (Berkeley, 1964).

31. Díaz, *Historia*, II: 416. Although written between 1553 and 1568, Díaz' book was first published in 1632.

32. Henry Raup Wagner, "Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts," *The Pacific Historical Review*, VII: 301 (December, 1938).

33. Lewis Hanke, "The *Requerimiento* and its Interpreters," *Revista de Historia de América*, I: 25-34 (1938).

34. Full text of *Acta de posesión de Santa Cruz* printed in P&C, XV: 306-308.

35. Francisco A. de Icaza, *Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923, and Guadalajara, Mexico, 1969).

36. Notarized account of May 10 ceremony in Camilo García de Palavicja y del Castillo, *Hernán Cortés; copias de documentos existentes en el Archivo de Indias y en el palacio de Castilleja de la Cuesta sobre la conquista de Méjico*, 388 (Seville, 1889).

37. The map, often referred to as Cortés' map of California, is reproduced in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), opposite p. 296.

38. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 7.

39. Accounts of the supply trips vary; the foregoing is a synthesis of details in Cortés, 292, and Gómara, *Historia*, II: 197-199. Díaz, *Historia*, II: 416-417, says that twenty-three men died of hunger and half the remaining of overeating.

40. Gómara, *Historia*, II: 199. Mendoza arrived in the capital on November 14, 1535, J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *Introducción al estudio de los virreyes de Nueva España, 1535-1746*, I: 22 (4 vols., Mexico, 1955-1963.)

41. Cortés, *Cartas*, 293.

42. Cortés, *Cartas*, 293.

# Forgotten Financier: François L. A. Pioche

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CHARLES A. FRACCHIA

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IT WAS MAY 2, 1872. François Pioche, San Francisco banker and financier, was lying in bed in his luxurious three-story home at 806 Stockton Street reading the newspaper. At 7:05 A.M. Pioche's valet, Louis Reiff, entered the bedroom and asked his master, according to the morning custom of the house: "Do you care for some water to drink, sir?"

"I do not wish to talk to you," replied the usually affable and benevolent Pioche.

Ten minutes later he got up out of bed, went to a mahogany case on a table in the center of the room, took from it one of a pair of heavy Navy pistols, returned to his bed, placed the cold ring of the muzzle against his forehead, and fired.

Why should a man who was one of the West's most successful financiers, a bachelor who had an exuberant zest for life, a French-born *bon vivant* eminently respected in the cosmopolitan San Francisco community since his arrival in 1849 suddenly end his life in his fifty-fourth year? There were many theories advanced at the inquest following his death: his depression over France's humiliation at its quick loss of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, severe headaches as a result of an injury received from a fall from a horse, his guilt over his role in the vigilante hangings of the 1850's, business problems known only to himself and a few associates. Whatever the reason or reasons, they probably lie buried with the amazing personality.

If Pioche could wander the streets of San Francisco today—over one hundred years after his death—he would no doubt find much that would amaze him and a great deal that would sadden him. Presumably, he would find it curious that no historian has ever seen fit to write a biographical account of his life, whether book or article, that a short, unpaved street near Bernal Heights is his only monument—that, and a plaque on the site of his first banking house, on Clay Street between Montgomery and Kearny streets. If he went to the corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets, where in the early 1850's he built a sumptuous banking house—a building which survived the 1906 fire and earthquake—he would see a garish, new brick building which several years ago replaced Pioche's building, a new San

Francisco landmark called the Playboy Club. Maybe he would have appreciated this. A large piece of property which he owned, and on which he once had his home—at Mission between Sixth and Seventh streets, known for many years as the Sullivan Block—is now tied up in the litigation affecting the Yerba Buena Redevelopment Project. Pioche would not have understood this.

But why should this obscure financier find himself slighted by historians of his adopted city? What right had he to expect that they would write books and articles about him when they could mine such fields as the Emperor Norton, Lola Montez, Mammy Pleasant, and Lillie Hitchcock Coit. Why should a principal thoroughfare be named after him when there were Spanish pioneers, U.S. presidents, and city officials to be commemorated? Why indeed!

François Louis Alfred Pioche was born in France in 1818 of a middle-class family. He studied law and received an appointment in the Ministry of Finance. When he was twenty-three a wealthy uncle died leaving him a large legacy. It was soon gone, however, in stock speculations and extravagant living.

Deciding to try life anew in the New World, Pioche left for Santiago, Chile, where he was employed in the French consular office in that city. He subsequently left the consulate for employment in a French-owned mercantile firm, where he met J. B. Bayerque, who was to be his banking partner in San Francisco.

At the time of the discovery of gold in California, Pioche and Bayerque left Chile for San Francisco with a cargo of merchandise, arriving in the city in February, 1849. They opened a general merchandise store on Clay Street, specializing in French-imported goods, prospered, and slowly turned to banking in the tradition of those days: storing gold for miners in their safe and using their excess capital to lend to businessmen.

Pioche's Gallic enthusiasm and emerging financial skills made his enthusiasm for the potential of the West boundless. The seemingly endless supply of gold made men casual about spending money. The price of goods and rents was higher in San Francisco than in the present day. In 1851 Pioche went to France to seek more funds to invest in the Golden West. He became one of the most sought-after figures in Parisian financial circles. Bankers and prostitutes alike pressed Pioche with money to invest in the new Eldorado. Seeking to popularize San Francisco, Pioche commissioned the famous engraver Charles Meryon to engrave from a series of daguerrotypes a view of the city, showing a prosperous metropolis. This engraving, today a rare bit of Californiana, was a throw-away designed to show San Francisco as a substantial city to the thrifty French.

The funds went to work immediately, through the banking firm of Pioche & Bayerque, in San Francisco real estate—natural for Frenchmen. The rental returns of 6–10 per cent per month in the early 1850's allowed Pioche to pay dividends of some 20–25 per cent per year to his French investors. He bought property and developed Montgomery Street from Sutter Street to Market Street and almost the entire block bounded by Montgomery, Washington, Sansome, and Jackson streets.

But it was not only in downtown commercial property that Pioche invested his funds. He also bought large undeveloped tracts of land in what is today known as the Mission District. And when it appeared that the city's population was not moving rapidly enough into "the Mission" and buying lots in that early land



*Pioche, the highly successful banker and financier, posed for this Bradley and Rulofson portrait shortly before his death by his own hand in 1872.*



development operation, Pioche built the Market Street Railway—one of San Francisco's earliest transit systems—to bring them there. The profits on both the land and the transportation system were enormous.

And Pioche purchased more real estate. Virtually every county in the state of California has records of the large ranches which Pioche bought during the 1850's and 1860's. This period, which saw the break-up of the massive Spanish-Mexican land grants, also saw Pioche become one of the principal buyers of this land.

Pioche returned to France in 1853 and spent a great deal of time there during the 1850's, continuing to funnel investment funds to his banking firm in San Francisco. (Until the 1930's most banking firms in the United States combined the functions of today's commercial and investment banking companies.) The operations of Pioche & Bayerque were handled by Pioche's partner J. B. Bayerque, J. Mora Moss, and A. Caselli.

It was not only in real estate, however, that Pioche employed his and his investors' funds. He financed the Jackson Street Wharf Company—one of the several private wharves which stretched into the bay. In fact, in 1860, Pioche & Bayerque was in the forefront of a group of San Francisco capitalists who sought to obtain the shore area of San Francisco for private use. Pursuing this objective, they succeeded in having the Bulkhead Bill passed by both houses of the state legislature. Their scheme was foiled when Governor Downey vetoed the bill.

So-called public utilities were unknown in the nineteenth century. All were privately-financed, privately-owned, and unregulated. Pioche was a major financier of both the San Francisco Gas Works, the principal component of what is today the Pacific Gas & Electric Company, and the Spring Valley Water Company, which many years later the City and County of San Francisco purchased for its municipally-owned water system.

From the time of the gold rush well into the late 1870's, mining was one of the principal sources of California's wealth. Pioche was not remiss in his financial

endeavors in this area. After the Comstock discovery in 1859, Nevada became a new Golconda. Pioche's money helped to develop the Ely mining district, and the county seat of Lincoln County in eastern Nevada is named after him. Pioche also was involved in the financing of the Temescal tin mines in Southern California, the Malakoff diggings at North Bloomfield, Nevada, the Rivot process for treating refractory ores and sulphurets, the Nolf process for the same purpose, and various hydraulic mining enterprises in California.

As if these imaginative financing activities were not sufficient, Pioche and his firm were also the pioneers in western railroad construction. In mid-1852 a group of Sacramento businessmen incorporated the Sacramento Valley Railroad. It was not until 1855 that construction began, and in the meantime Pioche & Bayerque became the financiers and the controlling interest in this first railroad in the West. In addition to Pioche and Bayerque the project, which was to be constructed between Folsom and Placerville, involved some of San Francisco's leading financiers: Commodore C. K. Garrison, shipping magnate and early San Francisco mayor; Captain Joseph L. Folsom; William T. Sherman, in the 1850's a San Francisco banker, later achieving fame as a Civil War general; and Ralph S. Fretz, partner of the fabled banker William C. Ralston.

The founders of the railroad had gone to New York in early 1854 and hired a brilliant young railroad engineer by the name of Theodore D. Judah, who came to California and built the Sacramento Valley Railroad. His vision and determined crusade in behalf of a transcontinental railroad later brought about the organization of the Central Pacific Railroad by four Sacramento businessmen: Crocker, Stanford, Huntington, and Hopkins. And it was Judah who, before his untimely death, laid out the route for this first transcontinental railroad.

Like most pioneering business ventures, the Sacramento Valley Railroad underwent numerous vicissitudes of fortune. Pioche's firm not only financed the company but, along with Lester L. Robinson, managed it. However, despite its being the first railroad, the Sacramento Valley Railroad was not to bring financial rewards to its backers. The Big Four pursued the vision of a transcontinental railroad vigorously, and, in the mid-1860's, Pioche was forced to sell the Sacramento Valley Railroad to the Central Pacific Railroad at a substantial loss.

For all his ventures helping to finance the growth of the West during the 1850's and 1860's, Pioche also retained his interests in the field of general merchandise. He remained the California agent-distributor for the famous French Sozerac brandy. At one of his summer homes and property—the New Almaden Mine near San Jose—he discovered a mineral spring. He had the water from this spring tested for its medicinal qualities and compared to the waters from various European spas. Satisfied with the excellent properties of the mineral springs, he began to bottle and sell the water.

As well, San Franciscans owe to Pioche the excellent quality of the cuisine in the city. Dissatisfied with the deplorable food in San Francisco during the gold rush period, Pioche imported chefs from France, and soon the city had numerous restaurants with excellent reputations for their French cooking. One of the earliest of these—and one which apparently had Pioche's financial backing—was the *Le Poulet d'Or*, corrupted by the un-cosmopolitan miners into the present name of the restaurant: The Poodle Dog.



Whatever the meaning of this caricature by Edouard Chevassus, Pioche's interest in the world of the arts is obvious.

*Pioche and Bayerque's advertisement from the 1860 City Directory indicates the extent of their commercial and investment connections on the East Coast and in Europe.*

# PIOCHE & BAYERQUE, AGENTS

—AND—  
**BANKERS**

Montgomery Street, corner Jackson.

DRAW ON

**SCHUCHARDT & GEBHARD,**  
NEW YORK.

DRAFTS ON

**L. C. OPPERMAN,**  
PARIS.

PAYABLE IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF  
FRANCE, ITALY,  
ENGLAND, PRUSSIA,  
BELGIUM, HOLLAND,  
SWITZERLAND, SPAIN,  
GERMANY, ETC.

They also RECEIVE, ON DEPOSIT, THE SMALLEST SUMS, and for a moderate commission, remit them and cause them to be paid—at fixed periods, Monthly, Quarterly or otherwise, to the Families of Depositors in the  
**PRINCIPAL CITIES OF EUROPE.**

During his twenty-three years in San Francisco, Pioche, like his contemporary Ralston, never ceased to labor to enhance his adopted city. He backed industrial fairs in San Francisco, generously contributed to charitable and philanthropic causes, strongly promoted the cultural and educational institutions of the city, and, as we have seen, never missed an opportunity to finance projects which abetted the economic developments of the West.

His will very much illustrates his benefactions while alive. To the fledgling University of California he bequeathed his extensive art, book, and mineralogical collections and \$5,000. To French Hospital he left two acres of land and \$5,000. To the sculptor Pietro Mezzara he left \$10,000 and various objects d'art.

Pioche's personal life was quite atypical of a modern businessman. A life-long bachelor, Pioche had all the qualities one would expect of a cultivated and cultured Frenchman. He loved the good life and had the money to enjoy it. An ardent collector, he assembled numerous works of art, furniture and decorative pieces, books, and minerals and shells. His taste for good food, wines, and spirits was something he loved to share with friends and visitors to San Francisco in his lavish entertaining.

Pioche had five homes during his residency in San Francisco. Three of these were located in the city and two were country homes. One of these homes—the Hermitage—was located on what is now Dolores Street, across from and south of Mission Dolores. Another was on the site of what has come to be called the





Sullivan Block, on Mission between Sixth and Seventh streets. Here, during the rainy winter of 1842, Pioche's gardens and house were flooded when the waters of Sans Souci Lake (at what is now Divisadero and Fulton) flooded and rushed down to submerge the area around the Pioche estate. The third home—where he died—was at 806 Stockton Street. This mansard-roofed house, along with its grounds, covered half the block. Big bay windows fronted on Stockton Street, and, looking north towards the bay, ran a balcony where, after dinner, Pioche liked to sit, sip his brandy, smoke his rich Havana cigars, and admire the view.

Pioche's summer homes were located in San Mateo and near San Jose. The San Mateo estate was located on property between the El Camino Real and the Alameda de las Pulgas. After his death the property and house was purchased by San Francisco banker Antoine Borel, and his descendants continue to own it. Further south, Pioche owned property at the New Almaden Quicksilver Mine; he used the old house built for the managers of the mine as his residence.

For all of his panoply of wealth and financial successes, it appears that in the late 1860's or early 1870's Pioche and his firm found themselves financially over-extended. Details for this contraction of business are not available. However, from both the accounts of the inquest held at the time of Pioche's death and from law suits launched by the executors of his estate, it is obvious that Pioche had become financially straitened. Whether for "fresh blood" or for additional capital, Pioche had taken in as a partner and, seemingly, effective head of the firm, L. L. Robinson, who had built and controlled the Sacramento Valley Railroad in conjunction with Pioche & Bayerque.

After Pioche's death, the executors of his estate sued Robinson for fraudulently misappropriating to his personal use assets belonging to Pioche and to the firm of Pioche & Bayerque. From the testimony given at the trial, it appears that Robinson proved to be as much an evil genius to Pioche as Sharon was to be to Ralston in 1875.

The comparisons in the lives of these two giant San Francisco financiers are uncanny. Both were unusual for their times. Unlike the usual grasping robber-baron businessmen of the last half of the nineteenth century, both Pioche and Ralston were men of taste and culture. Both were passionately devoted to San





*This 1850's panorama at Montgomery Street between Washington and Jackson depicts the Pioche & Bayerque headquarters (far left) and one of the many downtown commercial blocks developed by Pioche.*

*In this 1906 view, Pioche's lavish bank building still guarded the corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets. It withstood the earthquake which followed and was only recently torn down to make room for the Playboy Club.*



Francisco and to the growth of the West, spending millions of dollars of their capital to finance this growth, frequently in money-losing ventures, and to promote the city's cultural and educational life. Neither of them ever tired of promoting San Francisco. No financier of that time, nor since, had the wide-ranging, innovative minds in financing so many aspects of Western growth as did these two men. As compared to the flinty-hearted boors who made up the financial communities of most cities of the United States at that time, both Pioche and Ralson were genial, kind, and charitable. Even in their enjoyment of the luxury and splendor which their wealth and their position brought them, they did it with taste and modesty.

And yet both of these men died as comparative failures. In 1875, the Bank of California failed; shortly thereafter Ralston died of a stroke while swimming in

San Francisco Bay. His supposed friend and protégé, William Sharon, appropriated virtually all of his sizeable estate and denuded Ralston's heirs of their inheritance. Three years before, Pioche had committed suicide, and in 1876 his firm was liquidated. Today, Ralston's life is better remembered than Pioche's because of three biographies, the fact that the Bank of California remains as his financial legacy, and the existence of most of his papers and letters. Unfortunately, no historian has so recorded the life of Pioche, no financial institution he founded remains, and virtually no letter of Pioche or of his firm is extant.

And so in 1973, over one hundred years after his death, Pioche remains a forgotten financier. And yet, during the twenty-three years between his arrival in San Francisco and his death, he was one of the principal architects of the prosperity of San Francisco and the West and one of the main shapers of its quality of life. His ability to garner friends from abroad and profitably and creatively invest their funds in the West greatly helped to develop the area's rich resources. The West's commerce was aided by his financing of wharves and warehouses, its financial growth enhanced by his prestigious banking house, its utilities started by his financial activities on behalf of the San Francisco Gas Works and the Spring Valley Water Company. Its railroad had their start with him. The mining industry received the benefits of his imagination and money. And the real estate, agricultural, and livestock resources of California were greatly developed by his vision.

The fact that San Francisco is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world is, in part, attributable to Pioche. His Frenchman's love for fine food, good wines and spirits, and the arts prompted him to finance French restaurants and to import French wines and liquors, to give generously to support music and art in San Francisco, and to develop the San Francisco style of entertainment.

Pioche deserves much more from San Francisco and the West than the oblivion to which he has been consigned. He should be remembered particularly for his unceasing efforts to develop the economy and the cosmopolitan excellence of the city, and he should be a model for contemporary Western businessmen and financiers for his bold, creative, and imaginative financing of new industries. Perhaps more than a century after the death of François Louis Alfred Pioche his adopted city will see fit to restore to him the fame which is rightfully his as a major builder of San Francisco.

THE PHOTOS on pages 22-3 (top) and page 21 (right) are from the Wells Fargo History Room. The others are from the California Historical Society collection.

# California's Response to the "New Education" in the 1930's

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EDUCATION, IT SEEMS, HAS NOT KEPT PACE with the social changes that are going on." This observation, a now-familiar analysis made by Boyd Bode in *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* over thirty-five years ago,<sup>1</sup> was as timely then as it is today. The aspirations of educators of Bode's generation for a curriculum relevant to the concerns of life, for student participation in curriculum development, for reduced academic pressure and eliminated academic failure, and even for a restructured social order—the most ambitious aspiration of them all—are again being advanced. That many contemporary advocates of fundamental reforms appear ignorant of these earlier attempts is frustrating to historians, but probably of little consequence. The ability of later generations to capitalize on the cumulative successes and failures of earlier generations is not a strong one in any area of human experience.

The noble goal of earlier reforms for an engaging educational experience remains unrealized; in the 1960's many students, lacking interest in scholastic success, still dropped out of school.<sup>2</sup> One could debate the causes of this failure, asserting that the reformers erred in their chosen reforms, that their successors operated ineffectively, or that forces beyond the control of education prevailed. Regardless of the causes of failure, however, by the late 1960's a new cast of characters embraced the reformist zeal of the twenties and thirties. Relevance in the curriculum and reform by institutions again became the cry.

For all the rhetorical similarities, these contemporary criticisms differ from those of the earlier generation. Such men as George Counts, who in the thirties had issued an ambitious challenge for schoolmen to use their schools in building a new social order, saw the educational institutions as basically sound and capable of an effective response to new conditions.<sup>3</sup> Many current critics appear not only disenchanted with educational philosophies and programs; they lack confidence in the institutional structure itself. Hence, they call for private and street schools as alternatives to the entire system of public schooling.

In the thirties members of the educational establishment were able, in good conscience, to join the trend to educational reform, agreeing with and, in some



cases, even leading the call for basic changes in the system. They could blame the "traditionalists" for all the shortcomings. In the sixties, the antagonist became the institutional itself and those in authority within it. Aside from greatly changed historical conditions, perhaps this is the key difference between the two reform movements: the earlier movement received a considerable proportion of its direction from school people, including professors of education, while the later move was being forced from without by community people, government, business, and academic critics. It is ironical that the failures cited by recent critics were in many cases the same conditions the earlier reformers thought they were correcting.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps nowhere in the nation was support for "progressive education," to use the term most often chosen to describe the multifaceted educational reform movement of the 1920's and 1930's, more accepted among public school people than in California. There, as elsewhere, schools had been forced to cut back on everything from teachers' salaries and kindergarten to counseling programs and high school newspapers during the Depression of the early thirties. Fears of imposed tuition fees at all levels above elementary school, and of still more stringent economies, stimulated resistance and strengthened the commitment to reform. For a relatively brief time during 1932 and 1933 the financial pinch overshadowed almost everything else. It also stimulated educators into raising the wonder-working claims of their product. In countless other times and places public education had been identified as a necessary condition for sound public welfare. So it was again.

In some respects, then, the Depression proved to be something of a boon for progressive education. If the schools were in any way responsible for the speculative and overly materialistic conditions preceding the stock market crash of October, 1929, or the inability of political leaders to solve the problems which followed, the blame could be placed with the "old education," not with the school as an institution, and certainly not with progressive practices.

As an educational theory, progressivism covered an exasperating range of emphases, some unrelated and even contradictory, e.g., child study, educational testing, expansion and reorganization of curriculum, scientific study of learning, increased attention to counseling, social reconstruction, and, by the 1940's, life-adjustment education. Progressivism was a meeting place for the philosophies of pragmatism and romantic naturalism as well as the tenets of Gestalt psychology. A case could be made for naming Francis W. Parker the father of the movement, but John Dewey became its patron saint, and, to most of the faithful, its father as well. Indeed, the movement became practically all things to all people. In its period of ascendancy, roughly 1915-1940, it represented a modernist, forward-looking, *i.e.*, progressive spirit, opposed to dominant former ways. Breadth served to attract a wide cross section of followers. Unfortunately, it also made the movement vulnerable on many fronts. Before the end of the 1950's, the "child-centered," "social reconstruction," and "life adjustment" fronts had attracted enough fire effectively to bury the name of progressive education for at least a decade.

Specific emphases notwithstanding, to the leading California schoolmen of the thirties, progressivism was good and a cause to be identified with. If Teachers

College, Columbia University, was the philosophical and inspirational center of the movement, it may be asserted with equal confidence that on a statewide basis California was the implementation center. Helen Heffernan, chief of the California State Department of Education's Bureau of Elementary Education from 1925 to 1965, was an energetic Dewey disciple. Probably more than anyone else, she was responsible for delivering the progressive message to every city and hamlet in the state. "The philosophy of John Dewey," Heffernan maintained, "is basic in the thought and practice of most advanced schools today."<sup>5</sup>

In Dewey's essay, "The Future of Liberalism," perhaps better known to political scientists than to educators, he remarked that "experimental method is not just messing around nor doing a little of this and a little of that in the hope that things will improve."<sup>6</sup> The context of this statement was social liberalism, not education, but the sentiment quite accurately reflected his feelings toward experimentation in education as well. It is unlikely, however, that most teachers in decades past possessed either the inclination or the background to engage in actual experimentation, or that they enjoyed the time and patience to read Dewey's pronouncements carefully. On the other hand, many teachers and administrators were willing to "mess around."

Generally speaking, the California pedagogical progressives succeeded rather well in echoing the national sentiment, be the emphasis of the moment on child development, social reconstruction, democracy in the school, or any of the other verities. Of these several emphases, the "child-centered" movement appeared more a product of the twenties and before. Still, enthusiasm for child study remained during the thirties, and serious scientific study of the child went forward as never before. National interest in adolescence, substantial following publication of G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* in 1904, was still alive, as witnessed by the holding of a White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1932. The very nature of scientific child study was not conducive to fadism, whatever the popular cause of the moment. This, of course, was particularly true of studies that compared data observed from the same subjects over time.

Of the nation's half dozen or so leading study centers, one, the Institute of Child Welfare, was located at the University of California, Berkeley.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the study emanating from that center having the most direct impact on the public schools was the Oakland Growth Study. The extensive data collected for the study at Claremont Junior High in Oakland influenced the educational program of that school substantially.<sup>8</sup> As well, some of the institute's findings were translated into curriculum revision activities in other California schools. Long Beach, for example, utilized some of the "real problem data" in putting together its "family adjustment" course in 1932.<sup>9</sup> Oakland Growth Study data also constituted the primary source material used by Lois Meek and her Progressive Education Association (PEA) committee on workshops for their book, *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education*, published in 1940.<sup>10</sup> Admittedly, this was not one of the more memorable works published by the PEA, and it came at a time when revelations concerning child development had already been made available through other sources.

On the state level, the curriculum commission undertook publication of materials intended to increase teachers' awareness of differences existing among

children with respect to physical development, levels of academic and motor ability, social development, and range and types of interest. Most notable of these was a *Teacher's Guide to Child Development* (1932) and a *Teachers Guide to Child Development in the Intermediate Grades* (1936).

For schools of moderate to large size, the institutional response was an expansion of the curriculum, introduction of a broad range of club and other extracurricular activities, expansion of guidance programs, introduction of anecdotal records into the school, and homogeneous grouping practices. By 1937, about three-fourths of the state's junior highs were practicing ability grouping.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally, in those places where a concern for child study implied a child-centered school, such as the previously mentioned Claremont Junior High, grouping was based on social maturity rather than on ability in the hope that greater understanding of junior high students would result.<sup>12</sup> On the elementary level, a move toward a less threatening grading system, often involving "satisfactory—needs to improve" marking in place of the traditional A-F system and increased attention to parent conferences, was widely accepted.

Probably the most controversial side of progressive education during the 1930's was its link with social reconstructionist thought. For a time this link gave part of the movement direction, albeit many progressives, especially those with a strong bent toward psychology, were little affected by it all. Leading supporters of public education since the days of Horace Mann had been impressed with their capacity to transform society through education. During the Depression years California school administrators were prepared to emphasize this potential to the hilt. As observed by the state superintendent, "Education is the one nation-wide foundation for enduring recovery."<sup>13</sup>

Certainly the educational rhetoric of the early thirties reflected more spirited social commentary than it had previously. Speaking at a conference of the California Society of Secondary Education on August 5, 1932, Professor Percy Davidson of Stanford endorsed the "Dare Progressive Education be Progressive" challenge made by George Counts at the Baltimore meeting of the PEA. In that epoch speech Counts urged teachers to seek power and strive to use it fully and wisely in the interest of the great masses of people. Davidson further acknowledged that Counts was right "in charging us with indifference and docility in times fraught with tragic possibilities."<sup>14</sup> The public, he urged, would not criticize teachers for attempting to alert youth to the need for more intelligent planning on behalf of the common welfare. A year later the California Department of Education, through its organ *California Schools*, urged all teachers and administrators to read and discuss Count's equally profound *A Call to the Teachers of the Nation*.<sup>15</sup>

There is some indication that in rare instances Counts's challenge penetrated as far down as the local level. The city superintendent of Santa Ana, for instance, was willing to entertain serious questions concerning the American social and economic system in a way contemporary Californians would not expect from prominent citizens of Orange County:

Can we teach the abandonment of free competition and private profit? Is it too much to hope that we may expect the citizen to see the general as against the private good; that





*Helen Heffernan, chief of the Bureau of Elementary Education from 1925 to 1965, carried the banner for progressive education to nearly every city, town and village school throughout the state.*

he (and we) shall learn the ethics of success founded on justice and morality; that he (and we) shall learn to strive for social not personal welfare; that he (and we) take no unfair advantage of opportunities in the social order that are absolutely denied others; that we all shall be so concerned with social, economic, religious, and cultural relationships that we shall be no more obligated to our own particular school or creed or color than we are to every other man in human society?"<sup>16</sup>

It is important to emphasize that a willingness to consider substantive alterations in the nation's economic and social system was not an activity limited to radicals during the crisis years of the early thirties. Even relatively cautious school administrators were capable of being aroused by the call for social reconstruction. The case of California State Superintendent of Public Instruction Vierling Kersey may be taken as an illustration. Here was a man opposed to all the things Americans had been taught to oppose—dictatorships, facism, anarchy, and communism—a man who was a Mason, a member of the Optimist Club, director of the Los Angeles Woodcraft Ranger organization, a Republican, and even a holder of a membership in the Sons of the Revolution.<sup>17</sup> In terms of background and propensity he was as far from being radical as is possible. Yet the call of the social reconstructionists held an appeal for him. For Kersey, and presumably other schoolmen of his day, "social reconstruction" was not equated with radicalism, but rather was seen as implying a need for economic recovery, increased attention to social welfare, and control of excessive private profit.

Even prior to the 1932 elections Kersey was calling for educational experiences miraculously intended to veer the nation away from selfishness and lack of social concern. By May, 1933, he stated that what the nation was observing was "not the end of our social order," but "the end of the weak and faulty in that social order." The greatest current challenge to social planning, he observed, was to reorganize the entire scheme of economic control so that the common man would not be "merely a producer of goods but a consumer as well." Thus, "excessive

profit must be prevented in order that the power to consume may be more widely distributed among all who participate in production."<sup>18</sup> Eight months later, after nine months of "the national program of recovery so splendidly inaugurated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt," Kersey asserted that "we can accomplish by social reconstruction that recognition of social and economic equality for which many nations have found it necessary to undergo internal strife and revolution."<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps the key difference between radicals and moderates was not so much what they said, but what it took to satisfy them. Kersey saw the social order as changing significantly for the better under the Roosevelt administration; most true radicals remained disappointed with New Deal policies. In spite of his passing assent with the social views of Counts, Kersey remained an educational and political moderate, speaking out against "an experimentalism based upon the false philosophy that 'things can't be worse'."<sup>20</sup> As for a willingness to indoctrinate students in the ways of the new social order, perhaps the most controversial point of view offered by Counts, Kersey was vague. He was opposed to indoctrination imposed subtly or otherwise by commercial interests, but he approved of indoctrination for the preservation of specific principles, social customs, and existing institutions so long as it was accompanied by "critical personal analysis and evaluation" on the part of the student.<sup>21</sup>

As it turned out, social reconstruction was but a passing fancy in California education. As early as 1935 the legislature became concerned about the dangers of communism in the schools and considered a loyalty oath for public school teachers. Twelve years later they prohibited the use of state money for the purchase of any materials associated with the nationally renowned Building America Series. Since 1934, Building America had grown into the most notable curriculum series with a social reconstructionist orientation. In one of its less auspicious actions, and in spite of authoritative testimony to the contrary, the legislature became convinced that the series smacked of "subversive" or communistic influence.<sup>22</sup>

Unlike social reconstructionist thought, the socially-oriented curriculum supported and publicized by the reconstructionists had considerably more sustaining power in state education. The state superintendent's primary directive regarding teaching for 1935 was instruction in political citizenship based upon "recognition that human welfare is the highest value known to us."<sup>23</sup> Whether stated directly, or merely implied, several California educators held that the Depression could have been prevented had only the schools emphasized early a critical approach to the teaching of social issues.

The impact of the Depression on elementary schooling was a comparatively modest one, major changes having occurred during the previous decade. But here, as on the secondary level, there appeared something of a trend toward making social studies the core of the curriculum. A significant breakthrough toward giving curriculum planners at the elementary level more freedom was achieved in 1925 when the legislature, influenced by the state-commissioned Bagley-Kyte study, reduced the number of legally required subjects from thirty-two to twelve and stipulated that local authorities could add no more than three additional requirements to meet local needs.<sup>24</sup> Beyond that, there was only the



requirement that a minimum of 50 per cent of each school week be devoted to reading, writing, language study, spelling, and arithmetic in grades one to six inclusive. With virtually complete freedom on organization, it was not difficult to comply with the legal requirements.

Free from undue restrictions, California's progressively oriented elementary educators continued to implement the Deweyian principles. "We are endeavoring," wrote the Los Angeles County schools' curriculum director, "to guide thoughtful teachers to a complete acceptance of the Dewey philosophy. . . . The large state program of progressive education is a great stimulus to all of us."<sup>25</sup> And indeed, a large state program there was, one that received generally good support from the State Board of Education and the several state superintendents between 1925 and the 1950's. State boards and superintendents came and went, but the Department of Education's Helen Heffernan remained to lead the state-directed program of progressive education. Virtually all of the newer trends received early acceptance in California, but the main focus was on centering activities of the primary school around the child's immediate environment and needs—social, psychological, and physical.

Delivery of the message required the state, counties, and local districts to participate in a zealous and usually well-organized program of publicity and in-service education. Geographic remoteness restricted, but did not deny, deliveries of the progressive gospel. By 1930, under the guiding hand of Helen Heffernan, a cooperative curriculum plan was initiated in seventeen northern California counties. Under this plan, teachers and administrators, with some help from outside consultants, developed curricula for use in the schools. In July, 1932, the three major products of their work, suggested courses of study in science, reading, and social studies, were published in the Department of Education *Bulletin*. Although the courses were suited to both city and rural schools, special attention was given to the organization and curriculum problems of smaller schools. Expectedly, "the danger of dividing work into subject matter fields was recognized," and an attempt was made to complete the integration of subject matter around large centers of interest.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to state planning, some independent activity was taking place in the larger school districts. There, too, little doubt remained concerning what constituted good elementary schooling. The Los Angeles city schools very likely constituted the largest progressive system in the nation, or, at the very least, the most progressive large system in the nation. As early as 1924, it had become the first California city to adopt an activity program for grades kindergarten through sixth.<sup>27</sup> Consistent with the most current pedagogical thought of the day, the Los Angeles plan for curriculum construction started with the child's activities or interests, then showed their link to subject matter. Teachers were encouraged to make informal adjustments in the curriculum in order to meet individual differences among students. Since all activities presumably involved both simple and difficult tasks, this was seen as a relatively manageable expectation.

The most progressive and best-known elementary school in Los Angeles, although part of the city system, was University Elementary School, a laboratory school attached to the University of California, Los Angeles. Through numerous visits to UES, summer session courses at UCLA, county institutes for teachers,

and some—but not expansive—writing by the school's energetic director, Corine Seeds, the progressive message was heard. Although that message was not particularly unique, meaning nothing that Teachers College, Columbia University, wasn't familiar with, the school's implementation of progressive practices was apparently uniquely good. Particular attention was directed toward community life studies growing out of children's interest in "things that go."<sup>28</sup> Considerable emphasis was given to airplane centers and boat centers, particularly the latter.

Unlike Los Angeles, the San Francisco city schools took no clearly defined position toward progressivism. No study of the elementary curriculum was made between 1917 and 1943. For that matter, no curriculum department existed to make one. Changes nevertheless evolved, of course. Eighteen courses of study were published between 1934 and 1939, the curriculum was expanded, and social promotion practiced, but without clearly established district policy to guide the activity. When a district inquiry into the affairs of the elementary schools finally did take place in 1943, it was made because of much questioning by parents and citizens. By then there was a feeling that teachers "now neglect the fundamentals and devote themselves to teaching the fads and frills."<sup>29</sup> Apparently the progressive tide had been too strong for alert teachers and administrators to resist, with or without official policy.

It is hard to say just how much difference this revisionist activity made in the lives of the children affected by it. At least in the short run most school systems which studied the results of their progressively directed programs appeared satisfied. In 1939 Los Angeles reported that student achievement was generally higher than it had been in 1924 or 1937.<sup>30</sup> It is difficult, though, to assess the extent of success enjoyed by a particular trend in education. Other variables in society—home life, economic conditions, child-rearing practices, personalities of different teachers—certainly played a part, and these were just as susceptible to change over time as were educational practices. Furthermore, it is impossible to hold the conditions of time constant and compare what was to what might have been given a change in a particular variable.

The major transformation of the American secondary school, like that of the elementary school, had occurred well before 1930. By 1920 public secondary schools in the United States were enrolling more students than their private counterparts for the first time in census history. Enrollment in public high schools more than doubled between 1910 and 1920 and very nearly doubled again between 1920 and 1930. For California, the picture was much the same. Public school enrollment in grades nine through twelve more than tripled between 1910 and 1920, then increased from 126,913 in 1920 to 232,000 over the next decade.<sup>31</sup>

Lawrence Cremin has maintained that between the National Education Association's Committee of Ten report in 1893 and the Seven Cardinal Principles of 1918, the high school was transformed from an institution "conceived for the few" to one "conceived for all."<sup>32</sup> "Conceived" was a good, or at least a fortunate choice of words. Universal secondary education appropriate to the needs of all comers was not being achieved in 1918, or 1935, or 1970, for that matter. During the 1930's, however, a substantial attempt was made to fulfill the promise. Frequent expressions of dissatisfaction were heard concerning the slow realization of

the 1918 principles. Unquestionably, the public high school had expanded its offerings dramatically between 1890 and 1920. In 1890 the U.S. Office of Education reported that pupil enrollment at four-year high schools covered only eight subjects: U.S. history, chemistry, physics, algebra, geometry, Latin, French, and German. By 1922, thirty-nine subjects were covered, with courses in business, the fine arts, and practical arts finding a place in the curriculum.<sup>33</sup> Much of the shift occurred in the academic offerings, with the principal additions being English and the new social sciences.

Begging for the moment the question of how widespread implementation of progressive principles was during the thirties, there can be little question regarding the scope of teacher awareness concerning which ideas were "in." The following tongue-in-cheek resolution written by a science teacher at Beverly Hills High School reflects both an awareness of the direction education was supposed to be going and frustration in attempting to get there:

Whereas, we are all quite agreed that the principles and theories of progressive education, as stated viva voce and in print often and everywhere by many authorities, are sound; and

Whereas, the pragmatic application of these principles and theories seem to have been, in the public schools, at least, somewhat overlooked; and

Whereas, the present writer is quite prepared to rush in;

Therefore, Be It Resolved That the following program of ways and means to reduce theory to practice be adopted and put into operation in a school of secondary grade.

The motion thus being before the house, it is hoped that discussion will follow, and that it will strictly be centered upon the here-and-now *application* of theories rather than upon the higher (and vaguer) level of theory per se.<sup>34</sup>

Secondary education in California was touched by progressivism, but it never became dominated by it. Certainly, some new courses were attempted with little regard to whether or not their credit would be acceptable for college entrance. Secondly, orthodoxy was challenged in the area of planning and organizing for teaching; numerous attempts were made at fusing courses and making existing courses more functional and related to present-day problems. Thus, for example, good mathematics became functional mathematics. As on the elementary level, nothing in the legal regulations prohibited a reorganization of the curriculum as long as the legally required subjects—manners and morals, dangers of alcohol and narcotics, fire prevention, American history and civics, public safety and accident prevention—were included somewhere.<sup>35</sup>

A new passion for the social studies was to emerge as the most important development in secondary curriculum during the thirties, a development that could not have been predicted in 1929.<sup>36</sup> The pangs of depression stimulated serious discussion of social reconstruction, and that in turn helped produce changes in the social studies curriculum. Unlike child-centeredness, here at last was something "progressive" suited to the institutional capability of the high school.

Consistent with this orientation and the spirit of the new national administration, a special committee of the Association of California Principals prepared a report, "A New Deal in Secondary Education," which it adopted at its 1933 conference. After finding the schools accountable for the economic collapse, the





*Superintendent of Public Instruction Vierling Kersey, though conservative in background and a member of the Sons of the Revolution, urged education in social concern and "social reconstruction," which included control of excessive private profit.*

committee resolved to "prepare the rising generation to meet its social, political, and economic problems more effectively than the incumbent adult population has been able to do."<sup>37</sup> The existing instructional programs were assertedly "socially impotent, politically spineless and economically innocuous—academic 'apple sauce'—cultural custard."<sup>38</sup>

The desire of State Superintendent Kersey to lead in the transformation of secondary education soon became abundantly clear. In 1932 he complained to a convention of secondary principals that education on their level "crowns subject matter as supreme and tends to make of it a hurdle for the elimination of all but the most academically minded."<sup>39</sup> As the state sank slowly into the depths of economic depression, he grew in his resolve to link the cause of social reconstruction with educational reform on the secondary level. Determining the content of courses according to adolescent needs and interests was still pedagogically fashionable; indeed, adolescent study gained during the thirties. But adjusting the curriculum for the greater social good was the most fashionable idea of all during the middle of the decade.

Organizationally the task of state-inspired, but not state-enforced, reconstruction of the curriculum was approached through committees. A newly formed Advisory Committee on Secondary Education, representative of all types of public secondary schools, public and private colleges, and universities was formed and charged with evaluating current practices, outlining experimental programs, and assessing the progress of the reconstruction program. Neither it nor the state department had any legal authority to direct schools to change their practices.<sup>40</sup> Members of a second Committee on Cooperating Schools were charged with developing a comprehensive project in curriculum experimentation involving certain selected secondary schools, together with the schools below and above them which sent or received their students.<sup>41</sup> Each of nine regional committees organized by the larger committee was assigned the responsibility of collecting reports from curriculum revision projects, planning regional conferences, con-



tacting workers in the various schools, and evolving criteria for the evaluation of teaching, administrating, and guidance practices.

Leadership from the state educational authority, enthusiastic for reform and well organized though it was, did not produce anything like a total commitment to progressive practices in California's secondary schools. The most tangible changes between 1934 and 1939 were evident from the work of the cooperating schools. Many administrators were disenchanted with the alleged overly academic and college-preparatory orientation of the conventional curriculum. They saw the real or imagined impediment to reform as college entrance requirements, particularly as imposed by the University of California. The chief innovative features of California's program of cooperating schools were similar to those of the schools in the Progressive Education Association's Eight-Year Study. Only the strong evaluation component was absent. Through a cooperative agreement between the university, the Association of California Secondary School Principals, and the California State Department of Education, students trained through the experimental program could be admitted to the university upon the recommendation of their principal without the usual marks or other entrance requirements.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from a few inspired experiments and some noble statements of intent, the rate of change was not particularly impressive. In fact, charges leveled against the secondary curriculum in the late thirties were very little different from those common several years earlier. Allegedly, it was still too rigid, still failed to take account of major social trends, and still gave too little attention to the needs and interests of pupils. According to estimates made by the State Department of Education in 1938, some 25 per cent of the 400 senior and four-year high schools had instituted experimental or semiexperimental programs. Most pertained to basic or core curriculums; remedial work in reading, mathematics, and English skills; orientation for first-year students; and courses in senior problems.<sup>43</sup> Before the decade ended, approximately a third of the state's senior and four-year high schools had established "senior problems" courses dealing with the concerns of youth about to leave high school.<sup>44</sup>

Of all the innovations discussed during the thirties, none received so positive a response at the secondary level as the core curriculum concept. By 1937, three-quarters of the 125 junior high schools in the state were practicing some form of subject fusion.<sup>45</sup> Fusion of English and social studies into something called a "core" was by far the most common pattern. Teachers typically were assigned two such double-period classes, one single-period class outside of the core, and in most cases a homeroom. By bringing content from the social studies together with expressional activities from English, it was expected that increased opportunities would be provided for extensive reading, written and oral expression, class discussions, group activities, and pupil research. Further, it was assumed that a new organizational structure would help improve articulation between the elementary and junior high schools, while at the same time improving student-teacher rapport by reducing the number of students assigned to each faculty member.

A fairly illustrative account of activities in a two-period core class is reflected in the daily log kept by Mrs. Lois Vinette of Bancroft Junior High in Los Angeles:<sup>46</sup>

## DESCRIPTIVE LOG OF ACTIVITIES FOR FIRST DAY

| Approximate Time | Type of Activity Going On  |
|------------------|--|
| 5 Minutes        | Business Meeting: Roll is taken; supplies are checked; our song leader announces that it is Virginia's birthday and leads us in singing the birthday song in her honor.  |
| 10 Minutes       | News Flashes: Each day, except Friday, a committee, composed of one-fourth of the class, presents the news of the day. Our current-events-bulletin board is a wall newspaper called <i>The American</i> . It is divided into four sections, "Our City," "Our State," "Our Nation," and "Our Neighbor Nations." Of the ten pupils in each day's news-flash group, two bring items on each of the latter divisions. This eliminates the possibility of half or three-fourths of the class bringing the same news items. There is a chairman for each day of the week, and the news flashes are given over our room microphone. |
| 10 Minutes       | Spelling: Dorothy, the day's spelling chairman, presents the spelling lesson.  |
| 30 Minutes       | Radio Program: The class listens to the American School of the Air presentation of the story of Balboa.  |

## INTERMISSION

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| 5 Minutes  | Roll call and a short discussion of Balboa's life as presented over the radio.  |
| 15 Minutes | Grammar: Use of the apostrophe. Five minutes in explanation of the rules and copying them into work book. Five minutes in oral drill. Five minutes in a quick, dictated test for practice, not marking; to be kept in work book.  |
| 15 Minutes | Group Work: (This is a continuation of a period spent in the library last Friday, when each of the seven groups into which the class is divided has been assigned a particular problem on which to do research reading.) Each pupil reports to his own group the results of his Friday reading period. The group decides which reports are the best ones to be presented to the entire class, and either the group chairman or another member of the committee plans a brief summary of the other reports. This can all be done in about twenty minutes. The class then resumes its regular seating, and each group presents, through the selected reports, its solution of the problem upon which it had been reading. Today's problems were based upon the causes that led up to the Revolutionary War. |

Several surveys conducted during the middle and late thirties provide some clues as to the extent of revision activity in California's secondary schools. To cite but one, Aubrey A. Douglass, chief of the state department's division of secondary education, reported results of a questionnaire-survey returned by 321 principals representing both senior and four-year high schools. Three-fifths of the schools were found to be deemphasizing grammar; almost all were emphasizing current social, political, and economic problems. Courses pertaining to problems of home membership were also on the rise. Nearly half of the principals were taking, or had already taken steps to "socialize" secondary school mathematics, albeit only

5 per cent of the representatives believed they had made substantial progress in that direction. Nearly half claimed to be making instruction more dependent upon pupil activity. Finally, the Douglass survey revealed that few changes had actually occurred in school grading practices.<sup>47</sup>

For all the internal sound and fury, the "new education" received a generally quiet reception from the public. As usual most parents were rather accepting of whatever the schools did, except many were less than satisfied with the extent and quality of vocational training and vocational counseling.<sup>48</sup> Schoolmen could see that in a time of economic anxiety it was imperative that the gap between their policies and public support of those policies be kept as narrow as possible. Descriptions of themselves as "tax-eaters" and purveyors of "fads and frills" had to be handled quickly and effectively by educators. As the public became more tax-conscious, the schoolmen became more public-relations conscious.

All school districts, including small rural ones, were encouraged to interpret their programs to the public, indeed to "advertise" or publicize the good things they were doing.<sup>49</sup> Doubtlessly it was far more than coincidence that accounted for the State Department of Education establishing its Committee on Public Relations in 1933—at the very bottom of the Depression. Included on the committee were citizens from key civic groups around the state: the League of Women Voters, American Legion, California Federation of Women's Clubs, California Federation of Labor, and members of various local school boards. Besides seeking organizational support, the department inaugurated a series of weekly radio broadcasts on "Education at the Crossroads" to explain the public school system's needs and to extol its greatness to the people of California.<sup>50</sup>

Interspersed with public relations statements concerning the appropriateness and rightness of the "new education," there were ample assurances that "the three R's are everlastingly taught," and that children would complete their schooling with a "higher degree of ability in reading, arithmetic, spelling, geography, and history than at any former time."<sup>51</sup> Almost inevitably, perhaps, the school administrator of the thirties was guided in his approach to curriculum by a desire to be pedagogically "with-it" and a personal instinct for political survival. In that respect he differed but slightly from his successors.

Perhaps the only certain conclusion one can draw from the flurry of pedagogical and community relations activity occurring during the thirties is that the schools did change in the several important ways discussed above. Indeed, aside for some scattered team teaching, non-graded classrooms, learning resource centers, and additional late-model hardware, the student of today's schools would not find his curriculum and school organization shockingly different from those experienced by city students thirty-five years earlier. Many, perhaps even most, of the concepts and devices for organizing the curriculum which were popular ideas in 1970 were also popular ideas during the thirties.

Returning to Bode's assertion with which this essay began—that institutionalized education is slow to respond to social changes—one may properly question whether public education can ever alter its patterns rapidly enough to satisfy reformers. The fact that schools are under the direct and indirect control of sanctioning bodies, *e.g.* the legislature, courts, state board of education, and local school boards, who themselves hold differing values on policy issues, inevitably



makes public education a product of the political process. This reality, plus the propensity of schoolmen to succumb to institutionalized inertia, mitigates against a speedy resolution of difficult issues. On the other hand, a certain measure of stability and independence does accrue to professional educators in cases where those responsible for setting policy guidelines fail to agree on a position, or else simply do not concern themselves with the issues. In the case of progressive education, it is generally agreed by historians that the movement was one product of a larger progressive force evident in early twentieth-century America. Nevertheless, the actual day-to-day conceptualization and implementation of policies was left in the hands of educators.

Historically, schoolmen have generally aimed to please as wide a constituency as possible by focusing their reforms in the direction of a dominate influence. In the thirties it was progressive education. In the late fifties and early sixties it was "academic excellence" and "basic education." Today, while a substantial portion of the public supports the notion of performance contracts and accountability from the schools,<sup>52</sup> a highly influential minority of reformers are calling for humanizing, naturalizing, and personalizing education. In the absence of decisive leadership or a clear societal direction, one may well expect that the golden mean will continue to prevail.

THE PHOTO of Heffernan, courtesy California State Library, Sacramento; that of Kersey, courtesy California Historical Society.

#### NOTES

1. *Crossroads*, 91 (New York: Newson and Co., 1938).

2. The high school graduates in 1967-68 represented 77.6 per cent of the class that entered in ninth grade in 1964-65, an improvement over the ratio five years earlier when the 1962-63 high school graduates represented 70.9 per cent of the ninth grade class of 1959-60. Richard H. Barr and Betty J. Foster, *Fall 1968 Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools*, 4 (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, 1969).

3. See George S. Counts, "Dare Progressive Education be Progressive?," *Progressive Education*, 9: 257-263 (April, 1932), and *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: The John Day Co., 1932).

4. Of the relatively recent critics of the schools, Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner are probably the most aware of their pedagogical ancestry, acknowledging openly their debt to John Dewey and the "progressives." See *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

5. "Handbook for Rural Parent Teacher Activities and Relationships," California Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 12 (September 15, 1933), p. 9.

6. John Dewey, *Problems of Men*, 137-38 (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946).

7. Other leading centers of organized research into human maturation at this time included the Brush Foundation, Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland; the Denver Child Research Council, University of Colorado; the Adolescent Study Unit, School of Medicine and Institute of Human Relations, Yale University; the Harvard Growth Study, Harvard School of Education; the Center for Research in Child Health and Development, Harvard School of Public Health; and the Co-operative Study of School Children, Harvard University.

8. "Claremont Junior High School and University High School in the 1930's, Historical and Philosophical Background," Unpublished manuscript by John J. Geyer, Rutgers University.

9. *Family Adjustments*, Long Beach City Schools, p. 5.

10. Lois H. Meek, *et al.* (New York: Progressive Education Association).



11. Charles L. Jacobs, "The Junior High Schools of California," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 12: 496 (December, 1937).
12. Helen J. Hunt, "The Curriculum at the Claremont Junior High School," *University High School Journal*, 15: 73-78 (January, 1937); H. N. Massey, "Junior High Achievement Rests on Happiness," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 13: 484-487 (December, 1938).
13. Vierling Kersey, "Public Education and Social-Economic Reconstruction," *California Schools*, 5: 82 (March, 1934).
14. Percy E. Davidson, "The General Aims of Secondary Education," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, 8: 27 (October, 1932).
15. *California Schools*, 4: 316 (October, 1933).
16. F. A. Henderson, "What Attitudes and Social Qualities Are Needed in Citizens to Help Solve Our Problems," *California Journal of Elementary Education*, 2: 10 (August, 1933).
17. "Our New Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Sierra Educational News*, 25: 12 (March, 1929).
18. Vierling Kersey, "Contemporary Life and a New Education," *California Schools*, 4: 189-190 (May, 1933).
19. "A Review of Public Education in California for the Year 1933," *California Schools*, 5: 5 (January, 1934). Social reconstructionism, as both a term and a concept, had a relatively moderate meaning in addition to its better-known identification with political radicalism. It was not merely a case of politically moderate educators succumbing to radicalism, but of these same educators equating "social reconstructionism" with moderate and appropriate solutions to pressing economic problems. The only book on the subject in education, C. A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969), equates social reconstructionism solely with political radicalism.
20. "School Administration as Social Engineering," *California Schools*, 5: 379 (November, 1934).
21. "Liberalism in Education," *California Schools*, 5: 415 (December, 1934).
22. Kimball Wiles, "Building America: A Case in Point," *Educational Leadership*, 6: 108-114 (November, 1948).
23. Vierling Kersey, "Current Educational Issues and Emerging Goals," *California Schools*, 6: 4 (January, 1935).
24. William C. Bagley and George C. Kyte, *The California Curriculum Study* (Berkeley: University of California Printing Office, 1926); *Thirty-second Biennial Report*, 1926, California Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 51.
25. Lorraine M. Sherer, "Curriculum Development in Los Angeles County," *Department of Education Bulletin*, No. 22 (November, 1932), p. 222.
26. Helen Heffernan, "Preface," *Department of Education Bulletin*, No. 13, Part I (July 1, 1932), p. v.
27. *Course of Study for the Kindergartens, First and Second Grades; Course of Study for the Third and Fourth Grades; Course of Study for the Fifth and Sixth Grades* (Los Angeles City School District, 1924).
28. Clayton Burrow, "Community Life in the Harbor," *Department of Education Bulletin*, No. 16 (August 15, 1935), p. 1.
29. *Survey of the Elementary Curriculum in San Francisco*, Board of Education (San Francisco Unified School District, 1944), p. 7.
30. "New Methods vs. Old," *Progressive Education*, 18: 31 (Yearbook Supplement, 1941).
31. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1911, p. 107; 1921, p. 124; 1966, p. 122. Most of the students could have been found in 425 three- and four-year high schools; the remainder in some of the 152 junior high schools (those enrolling ninth graders).
32. Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Revolution in American Secondary Education, 1893-1918," *Teachers College Record*, 56: 307 (March, 1955).
33. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1948-1950*, U.S. Office of Education.
34. Lowell C. Frost, "Squaring Practice with Theory," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 10: 239 (March, 1935).
35. Aubrey A. Douglass, "Rules and Regulations of the California State Board of Education Relating to High School Programs of Study," *California Schools*, 8: 131 (May, 1937).

36. In January, 1929, 368 senior high school principals in California were asked: "What do you regard as the most progressive educational feature which you have either introduced or which you intend to introduce in connection with your school?" Guidance, homogeneous grouping practices, improved instruction and supervision, curriculum revision and expansion, extra-curricular activities, and various augmentations in the school's physical resources were the leading points mentioned by the 64 per cent who responded; J. O. Gossett, "Interests of Principals and Current Economical Measures in California High Schools," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, 5: 184 (January, 1930).

37. Frank W. Hart, "A New Deal in Secondary Education," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, 8: 331 (June, 1933).

38. Hart, *Ibid.*, 334.

39. Vierling Kersey, "What California Expects of Secondary Schools," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 12 (June 15, 1932), p. 3.

40. Walter R. Hepner, "First Steps in Reorganization of Secondary Schools," *California Schools*, 5: 50-51 (February, 1934).

41. On February 1, 1939, the Cooperating Schools included Burbank Senior High School, Carpinteria High School, David Starr Jordan High School (Long Beach), Eagle Rock High School (Los Angeles), Garfield High School (Los Angeles), Manuel Arts High School (Los Angeles), University High School (Oakland), Pasadena Junior College and Senior High School, Sequoia Union High School (Redwood City), and Yuba City Union High School. "Programs of the Cooperating Secondary Schools in California," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 3 (May, 1939).

42. It was agreed that students might enter the university with no algebra or geometry, but in such cases these subjects were to be completed with due college credit before requirements for the junior certificate were adjudged met. They might also enter without foreign language and without the prescribed laboratory exercises as part of the year of required science or with courses considerably different from the usual. Further, it was understood that the schools were free to modify their usual system of marking and assigning grades. "Programs of the Cooperating Secondary Schools in California," 1-4.

43. Aubrey A. Douglass, "The Program of Secondary Education," *California Schools*, 9: 242-243 (December, 1938).

44. "A Course in Senior Problems," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 6 (July, 1939), p. v.

45. Jacobs, "The Junior High Schools of California," 493.

46. Walker Brown and Ray Compton, "What Takes Place in the Integrated Type Classes," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 10: 291 (April, 1935).

47. Aubrey A. Douglass, "The Next Steps in Improving the Secondary Program," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 11: 206-214 (April, 1936).

48. Walter C. Eels, "What do Parents Think of Their Schools?," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 13: 146-151 (March, 1938).

49. Helen Heffernan, "Interpreting the School Program to the Public," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 22 (November 15, 1932), pp. 120-127.

50. Leighton H. Johnson, *Development of the Central State Agency for Public Education in California, 1849-1949*, 113 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1952).

51. Vierling Kersey, et al., *Your Children and Their Schools*, 9-10 (Los Angeles City Schools, 1937).

52. In late April, 1971, the Gallup organization found 49 per cent of the public favoring performance contracts, against 28 per cent opposed; 70 per cent favored giving local students national tests so that their educational achievement could be compared with students elsewhere. See George Gallup, "The Third Annual Survey of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools, 1971," *Phi Delta Kappa*, LIII: 36-37 (September, 1971).

# California Barns—

*As Drawn by Earl Thollander*

I like barns. There's something good about entering their dark, cavernous, airy interiors and smelling the barn odors. Perhaps you have the same feelings though your rural memories may be vestigial.

*With this reflection California author Earl Thollander prefaces his forthcoming book on California barns, soon to be published by the California Historical Society. Commissioned by the society, Mr. Thollander, renowned artist-author of the best-selling Backroads of California, has traveled up and down the state for several years, making pen and ink drawings of eighty historic barns and barn-like coach houses, cooperages, and other rural service buildings in a loving attempt to record a soon-extinct genre of American architecture—the family farm building. With characteristic eye for detail and poignancy of touch, Mr. Thollander has sketched these buildings which, though scarred, dilapidated, or scheduled for destruction, are a fond part of the people's history and heritage in California.*

*Barns were as important as the home itself in horse-and-buggy California, notes Mr. Thollander. Later they were used by the small farmer as hay and feeding barns for cows. Now that farming has become big business, the classic barn has become an anachronism—along with the small farmer. Both have fallen victim, he observes, to a less personal, faster, and more profit-oriented way of life.*

*Reflecting their original owners' temperaments, memories, nationalities, or dreams, rather than the careful plans of trained architects, the buildings exhibit almost every imaginable form: round, square, butterfly, domed, sixteen-sided and others less easily categorized. As engaging as the forms are the intriguing artifacts of past residents and present owners which Mr. Thollander includes in his drawings: hay, farm implements, abandoned jalopies, and animals—chickens, spiders, owls, bats, bees, swallows, and doves. Directions for locating the barn sites are included in a full appendix.*

*As Mr. Thollander freely admits, Making drawings on location is an adventure. You must be ready to enjoy and marvel at whatever comes along. And you need the nerve and effrontery to sit down and sketch anywhere.*

*Writing briefly of himself and his own history, he reflects, My drawing instrument is a stick of bamboo, whittled Japanese-style to a blunt, chisel-like point. My ink was Hong Kong Kwong Yune Kee Ki Company "Writting" ink. The paper is hand-made Millbourne English water-color paper. My inspiration for drawing is the works of the Chinese masters and the Japanese masters, especially Seshu and Hiroshige, the books of American Eric Sloane, and the philosophy of Confucius . . . a picture being worth a thousand words.*

*Following are drawings from the forthcoming book with the author's notes on the buildings he sketched. Most of his information on the history of the buildings comes from conversations with owners, former owners, knowledgeable neighbors, and local old timers whose memories are frequently the only existing history of the structures.*



## Morgan Territory Barn . . .

*In 1856, Jeremiah Morgan found the tract of land in Contra Costa County, now called Morgan Territory, while he was hunting bear. Morgan liked the area, so he claimed and fenced the land and moved his family there from Ignacio Valley. Morgan descendants still occupy the land.*









### *Cowell Cooperage Barn . . .*

*This century-old, barn-like building on rock stilts may look like a hayloft, but it was the Cowell Lime Company's cooperage. The lime kilns are just behind it; the cooked and cooled lime chunks were stored in barrels made in the cooperage. For years hazel wands gathered on the Cowell Ranch were used as barrel hoops. Men were paid a dollar a thousand for gathering them.*

*The property now belongs to the University of California at Santa Cruz.*









## Clark Foss Barn . . .

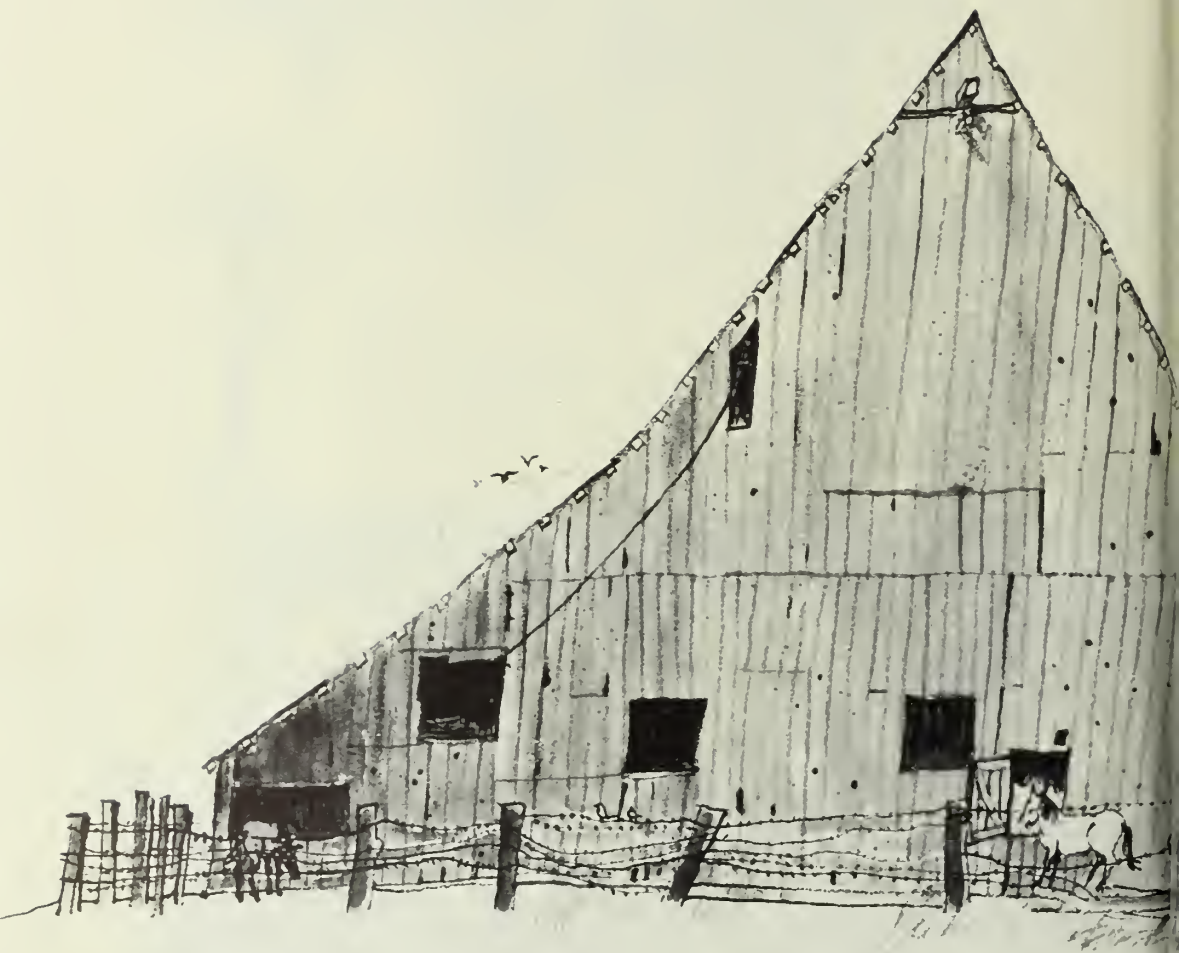
*In 1878, a coach and four horses were regularly driven seven miles from Calistoga northwest over Murray Hill to "Fossville." The coach was driven by Clark Foss, who owned the hotel at Fossville, Sonoma County. Visitors could relax there, refresh themselves, and spend the night before going on to see the then famous geysers east of today's town of Geyserville.*

*Frank Turner, Sr., living at the old Fossville site, has the hotel guest book. It contains the signatures of many famous people of the day, most notable of whom was Ulysses S. Grant.*

*Today, all that's left is Clark Foss's barn, creaking with each wind over its inventory of farm equipment and paraphernalia. The roof rafters were alive with bats, and standing inside, I could hear their scratching and squeaking sounds.*



EARL  
THOLANDER



*The Strang Barn . . .*

*Jared Strang came to Sierra Valley in 1858 and eventually ran five to ten thousand head of cattle annually. He built his milking barn in 1860 with hand-hewn timbers. There is a sketch of it in Smith and Ferris' HISTORY OF SIERRA, LASSEN & PLUMAS COUNTIES, published in 1892.*

*In 1885, the Surrey Barn on the right was constructed. Arthur Strang, grandson of Jared, still used this barn at the time of my drawing. He said that the barn is the oldest in Sierra Valley.*



EARL  
THOLLANDER



*Fountain Grove Barn . . .*

*Thomas Lake built the Fountain Grove barn with 16 sides in 1873. The stalls, arranged in a circular pattern, make room for 28 horses. The barn stands on a hill in full view of Highway 101 traffic just north of Santa Rosa in Sonoma County.*







# Chileans in California During the Gold Rush Period and the Establishment of the Chilean Consulate

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fellow of the California Historical Society; and author and editor of many articles  
on foreign consuls in California.*

THEY NO LONGER EXIST AND ARE LITTLE REMEMBERED. Yet such place names as Chile Town, Chile Gulch, Little Chile, Chilecito, Chile Bar, Chile Flat, Chileno Valley, Chilean Mill, and Los Muertos testify to the considerable presence of Chilenos in California during and after the gold rush era.

The term chile itself is of Nahuatl origin; it is the fruit of the nightshade family plant, which produces the most picante aji-pepper known. Used in all Mexican seasoning and sauces, the chile is best known in California and the West for chile con carne. The Californians cultivated, sold, ate, and even smelled chile. Because the chile-eaters were primarily Spanish speaking, the term "Chileno" was applied by gringos or Anglos to all Spanish-speaking people—formerly also "greasers," now Chicanos. This, of course, has caused considerable confusion in the history of the native Chileans in California.

Frequently, too, the Anglos could not distinguish between the Chileans and the many more Mexicans and Peruvians and other Latin Americans who came to California during the gold rush period. When Spanish-speaking people gathered together, the virile, thoroughly individualistic, and uncompromising Chileans usually took a leading part in opposing Anglo aggression, and, hence, various Spanish-speaking peoples were lumped together under the nationality of the most outspoken as "Chilenos."

(In recent days some have tried to make a distinction between "real" Chileans and other Latin American, Spanish-speaking peoples by calling those who came from Chile "Chileans" and other Latin Americans "Chilenos." In this paper I use the terms Chileans and Chilenos interchangeably in my discussion of the native Chileans who traveled to California from Chile and their trials, tribulations and actions—both official and individual—in the gold rush period.)

It is well known that the California gold rush was a major and wide-reaching catalyst in western history. In January, 1848, for example, there were only two known native Chileans in California. Within a year of the gold discovery, esti-



mates of their numbers ranged from a grossly exaggerated 60,000 to a woefully underestimated 3,000. Whatever their numbers—and they were obviously dwarfed by Yankees and other Americans—Chileans did comprise the majority of South Americans in California. This was not surprising, for all ships doubling Cape Horn obligatorily put in at Valparaíso after the terrible southern storms to provision and repair their vessels. Moreover, Chile's geographical location led naturally to the possession of a merchant marine of importance among the South American nations.

Yet only two Chilean authors were eye-witnesses in gold rush California, and they both left negative impressions. Vicente Pérez Rosales, who was considered French by foreigners and Chileno by Hispanoamericans, came early in 1849. He visited "Little Chile," a barrio at the foot of Telegraph Hill (bounded by Montgomery, Pacific, Jackson, and Kearny streets) in San Francisco, attempted to mine gold and failed, spoke of having to use his vessel as a hospital, and returned to Chile poorer than ever and sorely disillusioned. His misadventure (he described his experiences as a truly ill-judged action) was published early and later translated into English. The second Chilean visitor was the distinguished Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna who arrived in California in 1853 to sell a shipment of wheat. He disliked California, calling it a cradle of vice and an Inferno for foreigners, and he hardly mentioned Chileans, except Rear Admiral Wooster and Rafael Martínez whose tombs were in a San Francisco cemetery. Both authors thus experienced the gold rush era in California during which perversion, chaos, and crimes reached new heights, during which San Francisco's Chilecito was destroyed and the city dominated by vigilantes, and during which nativism was rampant and legal restraints, even government, were absent.

The disillusioned Rosales described Chilecito as a *callampa de sexo femenino*, a fountain of cholera and syphilis, where in the most abject existence lived *filles de joie*. Rosarita León was the queen, and her subjects were Remigia Gallardo, Peta Guerrero, Margarita Fernández, and others, plus a horde of "masquereaux" who regularly dined with them. In contrast, Herbert Asbury, in his *Barbary Coast* (published in 1933), reports that in the spring of 1849, Chilecito housed fifteen white women and nearly 300 Chilena women of whom two-thirds were harlots from Mexico, Peru, and Chile. By Chilena women he meant females who were brazen, bronze-skinned, and Spanish speaking.

Yet for all his distaste, Asbury did not state or imply that the criminal uprising of 1849 and 1850 in gold rush California was instigated by the wretched Chileans who lived in the utmost misery at the foot of Telegraph Hill in Chilecito. Rather, he acknowledged that systematic persecution of this group began in the mines and only later spread to the pueblos and cities. Anglo miners provoked the Chilenos in every way, stealing their utensils, destroying their homes, driving them from their ranchos and hovels, violating their women, beating their children, whipping and even hanging them under the pretext of doing justice. The first lynching in the mines—in January, 1849—claimed the lives of two Frenchmen and a Chilean.

Yet to follow were the even more horrendous attacks by the "Hounds," members of the xenophobic and anti-Catholic Society of Regulators. Comprised chiefly of discharged soldiers from Stevenson's regiment and ostensibly organized

to assist one another in case of sickness and danger, the society functioned as a quasi-military organization with martial stripes, officers, and discipline reflecting the military background of many members.<sup>1</sup> With headquarters in a tent called Tammany Hall or the "Shades" on the corner of Pacific and Dupont streets in San Francisco, the Hounds conceived attacks on foreigners in the gold fields, many of whom were Chileans well versed in the processes of extracting gold. Working in bands the Hounds mauled, knifed, and killed Chilenos whose efforts to resist were fruitless. When some Chileans "retired" to San Francisco to establish small stores and restaurants, the Hounds followed to plunder their houses, burn their stores, and rob their liquor repositories. During the first six months of 1849, they invaded "Clark's Point" and Telegraph Hill where they raped women, destroyed hovels, and carried off possessions. Fiestas were frequently ended by the ram-paging Hounds.

As justification the Hounds claimed they had orders from the alcalde of San Francisco to free the city of Spanish Americans and that they were aiding in preserving order. Possibly the attacks were encouraged by the military governor, General Persifor F. Smith, who announced that only United States citizens would be allowed in the gold fields and that foreigners would be considered as trespassers, and by his successor, General Bennett Riley, who publicly acknowledged that emigrants were obnoxious but there was no way to keep them out. Nevertheless, the Hounds' famed assault on Little Chile clearly demonstrates the wave of lawlessness and intimidation by mob rule that swept San Francisco and California during the first half of 1849.

And, clearly, the native Chileans were a major target for the Hounds' violence. (Among the Latin Americans the Chileans had assumed a natural leadership, perhaps because they were better educated; certainly they were more independent and less subservient than the Mexicans and Peruvians.) On July 15, 1849, Pedro Cueto (who later served as Chilean consul) refused to pay a Yankee merchant,



*A "typical" Chilean couple were sketched in a California magazine of 1857 as vaguely Negroid and gypsy-like in appearance. The artist's attitudes may have been revealed by the inclusion of a sack of belongings tied to a sword, indicating the destitution of these new immigrants.*



George Franks, a disputed bill totaling \$500 for a commission on the purchase of a lot on Montgomery Street. After informing the sheriff of Cueto's refusal to recognize and pay the debt, Franks offered the Hounds one-half of the sum in return for collecting the bill. (The Hounds occasionally aided Alcalde Thaddeus M. Leavenworth in his duties.) Cueto armed himself, and when the collectors appeared, he fired a shot and hit a bystander. The Hounds proceeded to use this incident as an excuse for an all-out attack upon the Spanish-speaking peoples of San Francisco.

After an afternoon of marching and drinking, they formed into companies and spread out across the city. When a bystander inquired of their intentions, he was told that they were going "to whip and drive every damned Chileno out of town." Then, they attacked, and William Heath Davis, who witnessed the affair, heard the screams that followed from Little Chile. The *Alta California* labeled the assault a cowardly outrage; indeed, it may well have been an early example of genocide, except that it was anything but systematic. Mob psychology prevailed, as gangs assaulted Chileans everywhere, shooting some and stealing money, jewelry, clothing, furniture, and gold dust from others. The climax of these outrages was the attack on Little Chile on July 15, after which the Hounds retired to celebrate with stolen wine. This was finally too much for the good citizens who now regarded the Hounds as terrorists, and on the day after the attack, they reacted. Sam Brannan and others harangued the citizenry in Portsmouth Square, then formed a vigilance committee along the lines of a military company to restore law and order.<sup>2</sup> Suddenly meek, the Hounds tried to flee, but their leaders were captured, tried, and convicted, though some did not serve their sentences because of inadequate prison facilities.<sup>3</sup> Others were exiled; some just drifted out of San Francisco; and several were later executed in the mines. A collection was taken up to aid the Chileans, and, thereafter, Chileans were relatively safe in San Francisco, if not in the mines, where their baking, bricklaying, and other skills were in great demand.

Undaunted by the awareness of California's hostility to foreigners, crowds of Chileans seeking fortunes in the gold fields daily booked passages on overcrowded ships stopping in the busy port of Valparaíso on their way to California. Indeed, Chile prospered by supplying provisions for passengers enroute as well as for the population of California. Wheat, flour, coal, vegetables, and other foodstuffs were in heavy demand. Chile's merchant marine was almost stripped of its former *cabotage*, or trade along the Chilean coast, and most of the ships left Chile loaded with provisions and passengers for California. There, however, as other nations soon discovered, their ships were almost denuded of crew when venturesome seamen deserted to try their luck in the gold fields.

Describing the scene on February 14, 1849, the American consul, Thomas O. Larkin, wrote John H. Everett that San Francisco was crowded with people. Many could not obtain a bed, some did not have money. The streets were full of Chileans, natives, and French, all waiting for April to come so that they could head to the mines.

As early as September, 1848, it was reported by Colonel Mason's messenger on his way to Washington that there was a "revolution of gold" in Chile. Confirming the report, Faxon D. Atherton wrote Larkin from Valparaíso on September

10, 1848, that "it is reported here that California is all gold—probably a little glitter has blinded them," and Larkin responded on January 19, 1849, that "our gold region or placers is actually the only thing or circumstance that I ever knew that was not exaggerated. Law, gospel and politics are beginning to be obsolete in the great eagerness to obtain a share of the placers."

For all its informal eagerness to participate in the discovery of gold, Chile's diplomatic relations with the United States in the late 1840's were less than smooth. Chile still had claims pending against the United States, the *Macedonia* claims dating back two decades and more. In company with most of her Latin American sister nations, Chile had been unfriendly to the United States and looked with disfavor and perhaps fear when the United States' "manifest destiny" of territorial expansion provoked the war with Mexico. The concluding treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the discovery of gold occurred almost at the same moment. Chile looked askance, too, at America's acquisition of Pacific coast territory and ports which might cut into Chilean markets and maritime trade. As well, there were other reasons for Chile's frigidity. For example, shortly after Seth Barton presented his credentials as chargé d'affaires of the United States in Chile in January, 1848, he proceeded to outrage the Chileans when he, a Protestant divorcé, married a Chilean woman in Protestant rites. Barton also tangled with the archbishop on questions regarding protocol and offended the Chileans. Thus, there were bad feelings just at the time when Chilean emigration to California got underway.

In Washington, Manuel Carvalho, Chilean chargé d'affaires since August 9, 1846, asked for Seth Barton's recall. (Washington said it could not oblige due to Barton's political influence with the president.) A short time later, however, Carvalho was caught up in the excitement of the gold rush, and by December, 1848, he was informing Chile that many Americans were already leaving for California and that "our agriculture and merchants would be alerted to the possibilities in California. Nothing could compete with our agricultural products," he wrote, if boats were available. In February, 1849, his fervor matched the mounting excitement in California itself. And by April he was telling his government that the interest of the Chileans in California might require the protection of consuls in the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego.

Carvalho soon acted on his own advice. On August 22, 1849, he informed the Chilean government that he had sent a note enclosing a *patente* as consul granted upon his authority. His appointee as consul in San Francisco was Pedro Cueto, a most circumspect Chilean, whom he had informed in a letter of August 16. (Carvalho had a brother in San Francisco who advised him about Cueto.)<sup>4</sup> Carvalho drew up some provisional instructions for Cueto which he thought might be of use to his foreign office in Chile in formulating a "*bosquejo de la ordenanza Consular*." He concluded his letter to the government by expressing his hope that his action would meet with the minister's approval. On the same day, August 22, Carvalho wrote to Cueto transmitting the *patente* and the exequatur which had been granted by Washington and urging him to protect the multitude of Chileans and their property in San Francisco. He mentioned the jealousies, antipathies, and disorders in California, all of which cried for protection of Chileans and their commerce.

For a man in distant Washington, Carvalho was unusually sensitive to conditions in California. His instructions to Cueto were detailed and perceptive. He urged Cueto to make official visits to the principal civil and military officials, showing them his exequatur; if other consuls hoisted their flags on certain days or had national arms on house or office, he was to do the same. He warned Cueto not to be the first to introduce customs and to carefully respect the titles of men with whom he corresponded. When in need of advice he should consult the most prudent consuls in San Francisco. Carvalho informed Cueto, too, that the appointment of consul carried no salary from the Chilean treasury, but that he could collect dues or fees from individuals using his services. Finally he called upon Cueto to inform officially the minister of foreign relations of the day upon which he entered service as consul of Chile in San Francisco.

In November, 1849, Carvalho reported to the minister that the treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Chile was expiring and told of the problems to be considered in the negotiations of a new treaty. Is it best for Chile to place American ships on the same footing as Chilean ships? he asked. Is the acquisition of California by the United States a new and secure market for Chile? He advised the minister to study the statistics of 1847.

The treaty issue was an involved one. The treaty of commerce and navigation between Chile and the United States signed May 12, 1836, ended January 29, 1850, and with it ended reciprocity. Chile, with a large merchant marine and a monopoly of Chilean coastwise shipping (*cabotage*), was affected by the gold discovery in California. As was the case with other nations, when Chilean ships arrived in California, most of the crews deserted. Vice-Admiral Blanco Encalada wrote the minister of marine on May 24, 1849, that since most of the Chilean vessels were involved in the California trade, the *cabotage* in Chile had been reduced to only a few boats. The vice-admiral thus advised his government that despite the increased number of competing vessels of other nations, *cabotage* be opened to all vessels and to all flags. Finally, this proposal was decreed for six months on September 4 and later extended. Chile also repealed her law of 1834, and on July 16, 1850, less than six months after Chile opened *cabotage* to all flags, Chile decreed that all vessels pay the same duties as Chilean vessels.

However, since the United States treaty with Chile had expired in January and thus ended the favored-nation treatment, the United States immediately decreed that Chilean vessels in the California trade had to pay more duties than other vessels. This was a harsh decision against Chile at the time of the greatest increase of Chilean exports to California, and it caused difficulties between the two countries and in California. Perhaps it forced Chile's repeal of the law of 1834 in July, 1850. At any rate, the news of the repeal of that law, once again restoring equal treatment to vessels of the United States in Chile, reached Washington two months later, and the United States established reciprocity with Chile in October. (The order to the California customs authorities was dated Washington, October 31, 1850.) Although Chilean vessels immediately asked for the return of excess duties paid, they were successful only after the date of the decree. After the end of protectionism in Chile and the opening of *cabotage* to all flags, the California gold discovery caused the Chilean merchant fleet to increase astonishingly during the years 1850-1853. (Continued on page 60.)



# GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA

## *As Sketched by a Chilean Observer*

Vicente Pérez Rosales was one of two Chilean authors who published their impressions of the madness of the gold rush. His accounts lend an unsympathetic foreigner's perspective to knowledge of the important American experience.

Pérez Rosales arrived in San Francisco early in 1849, visited Chilecito, the barrio at the foot of Telegraph Hill, and headed to the mines. Highly unsuccessful, he and his companions from Chile hopped from one place and enterprise to another, each time going out, as he said, for wool but coming back shorn. In late 1850, after losing what properties he had accumulated in a fire in San Francisco, he and other disillusioned Chileans sailed to Chile on a ship abandoned for two months in the harbor for lack of crew. (Pérez Rosales later served as Chilean consul in Hamburg and published materials which eventually lured thousands of Germans to the frontiers of Chile.)

Pérez Rosales' reflections on his experiences, recorded in a diary, were soon published in Chile and later translated into English. Included in the volume were his sketches of street and mining scenes, some of which are reproduced here. While the works of an untrained artist and hasty in rendition, they convey with wit and sharp perception the bustling, crass, and cosmopolitan quality of everyday life in the rude society suddenly coalesced from strangers—mostly male—seeking financial gain. The characters depicted evidence the anxiety, aggressiveness, and seeming abandonment of traditional social values which characterized their life in the gold fields and gold mining cities wherein, as Rosales remarked, time was money.





at Chileno y a orejones miranosa de riego



—¡Qué me miráis, m...!!

—God dem chilian, blust you!... ¡baye!!!!

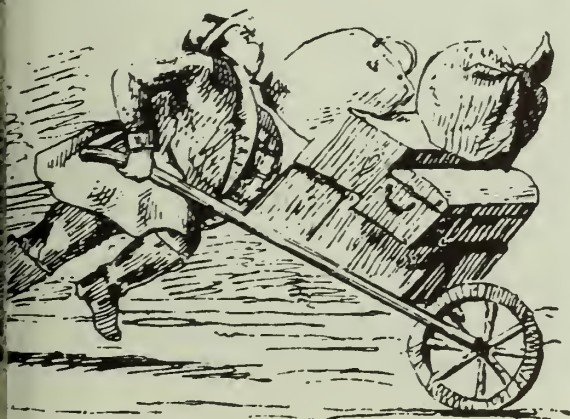
—¡Baye corin tu mudie!!

ABOVE: Individual altercations between Yankees and unrepentently proud Chileans were only a prelude to the Chile war.

RIGHT: Liquor assumed a role of major proportion in the womanless early years of the gold rush.



una casa en el centro de la ciudad  
el centro de la ciudad  
y de la ciudad la casa



LEFT: A brazenly entrepreneurial mentality, interrupted only by momentary pleasures, characterized the highly unstable gold rush society.

FAR LEFT: Until driven out by hostile Yankee miners, Latin Americans and other foreigners, who often worked cooperatively, were common in the gold fields.

Meanwhile, in the Chilean Congress lively discussions developed on the treatment of Chileans in California. Some members suggested sending a Chilean frigate to California. After all, they maintained, before August of 1849, there had been at least fifty-five Chilean boats stranded in California because of desertions; in addition, it was well known that Californians had attacked Little Chile and assaulted Chilean miners. Among members of Congress, Señores Tagle and Vallejo were especially vocal in the ensuing debates. Vallejo offered letters as evidence of the deplorable situation in California.<sup>5</sup> He was also disturbed by the heavy exodus from Chile and openly wondered why the government should consider aiding Chileans in California when most of their contracts guaranteed return passage. Most of them, he noted, were artisans or industrial workers, and their departure had created a labor shortage in Chile.

At the same time, the *Mercurio* of Valparaíso was publishing articles about California taken from the *Alta California* and the stories of those who had been there. One story announced that California had ordered all South Americans to get out of California within ten days.

Although Chile was fearful to follow Peru's decision to send a frigate to California because sailors might desert to the gold mines, Congress finally did appropriate 40,000 pesos to protect and return Chilean emigrants, if necessary. Congress also discussed their merchant marine. California emigration had pulled all boats into that shipping and two-thirds of the fleet was now on California shores due to desertions. (This, of course, forced the opening of *cabotage* to all flags.) The government, however, chose not to dispatch a frigate, as Peru had, but, instead, the Chileans accepted a British offer to lend aid to Chileans in California.<sup>6</sup> The Chilean government debated the merits of chartering a vessel to bring back all Chileans who so desired but did not have sufficient funds to pay their passage. Finally, Señor Infante suggested that a consular agent for California be appointed.

Meanwhile, Carvalho in Washington was anxious about his consul appointee, Cueto. In January, 1850, he had received no acceptance or acknowledgment from Cueto. Then, in February, Carvalho received notice from the ministry that it had appointed Chile-born Samuel Price as consul in California, and, further, it asked the Chilean chargé d'affaires to request an exequatur from the United States government for him. Carvalho complained that it was inopportune to make such a request so soon after he had made and received an exequatur for Cueto, but he did as requested and transmitted an exequatur to Price in March.

To put the Chilean concern with California in proper perspective, it is important to emphasize that, in 1848, Chile was the leading trading nation of the entire Pacific, and the American conquest of California was an obvious threat to this supremacy. Yet there were blessings, as Chile recognized, to increased trade with California. The first news of the discovery of gold in California arrived in Chile on August 19, 1848, when the Chilean vessel *Juan Ramón Sánchez* weighed anchor in Valparaíso, but it excited little comment. Chileans familiar with methods of extracting precious metals had known gold excitements before. Furthermore, they were preoccupied with border problems with their neighbors, Peru and Argentina, and with the recent-arriving news of the French Revolution of 1848. But with the arrival in Valparaíso on September 12 of the *Adelaida*, which

carried \$2500 in gold dust, gold fever swept the country. Other interests were forgotten; the rush was on. Ships carried Chilenos, rich and poor, *inquilinos*, *rotos*, artisans, and professionals to the North. By 1852, Chile was feeding California.

The mining season of 1848 was a good one. A few made fortunes; some plowed money back into greater farm production in Chile for the booming food trade with California. Others built magnificent homes; some invested in California. A flour bonanza came and went. An American resident of Valparaíso traveled to California with his Chilean wife and bought the entire town of Bodega. Frank Lecouvreur reported in 1851 that San Francisco had some rich and respected Chilean firms. The proprietors of the new City of Washington near Benicia began to promote the sale of lots in the planned city. They advertised widely in Chile, publishing the plan of the town's streets and lots which included a public square, hospital, school, and gardens. Lots selling in San Francisco and Valparaíso for \$100 were quoted as being worth between \$8000 and \$10,000 within a year.

Poor Chileans traveled to California in even larger numbers than the well-off. During 1848 and part of 1849 when some form of passport had been required, over 3000 had been acquired, and the names of passengers leaving Valparaíso for California were usually published in the *Mercurio* of Valparaíso. Between August 13, 1848, and June 25, 1849, some forty-nine Chilean vessels carrying some 1778 passengers sailed from Valparaíso, and in the next month, four more left with seventy-two passengers. Between December 1, 1848, and December 1, 1849, 303 vessels had left Valparaíso for California, of which fifty-three were Chilean, and between January 1 and June 30, some 15,000 more gold-seekers had arrived in California, of whom about 2000 were Chileans. Seven more Chilean vessels arrived in San Francisco between May 1 and June 29, 1850. Many Chilean immigrants were traders and keepers of eating houses; other Chileans and Mexicans were brickmakers. Some were confirmed gamblers; some were criminals. The prostitutes of Santiago came to occupy a special place in San Francisco life. In fact, Vicente Rosales, one of the earliest Chilean visitors of note, had protected a notorious Santiago prostitute from the Valparaíso police and boarded her on the ship upon which he had embarked for California. There were, as well, women of good families and reputation who came to live in Chile Town.

When in December, 1851, a revolution shook Chile, 480 Chileans fled in the first sixteen days of that month. In fact, during the three months of instability which followed, more than 1200 emigrants left Valparaíso, and during the first thirty-seven days of 1852, more than 300 alone joined them in California.

This instability, coupled with increased emigration, diminished the labor population in Chile by no less than 2000, and, together with the equal number pressed into the armed forces to keep order, it created a serious shortage of agricultural workers in the area from Copiapó to Coquimbo. Moreover, agents actively sought emigrants, capitalizing on the Chileans' low wages and general poverty. In addition, some ship captains lacking crews offered free passage or transportation at a small cost which the emigrant could pay later in California. Other captains attracted passengers by means of circulars and advertisements replete with exaggerated propaganda and promises.

Once in the California mines, the Chileans performed well. Yankees and Anglos occasionally took apprenticeships under them and then went off on their



own. The Chileans and Mexicans were patient, careful miners skilled in washing gold-bearing soils. In fact, they developed the "dry washing" technique. Some, of course, like the tenor of the Valparaíso theater, were ill-suited to the task. More often the numerically superior Americans, after learning the fine points from Chileans and Mexicans, drove them off their claims. The Chileans did not assimilate and did not follow the Anglo majority; their individualism was evident. Observer William McCollum tells us that the Chileans were generally disliked by the Americans, but "so far as I saw them, they were quiet and inoffensive." Indeed, their ignorance of the language and the ingrate laws and decrees made it difficult for them to prosper.

Yankees, however, refused to recognize any real distinctions between Latin Americans. Whether from California, Chile, Peru, or Mexico, whether residents of twenty-years standing or immigrants of one week, all Spanish-speaking people were lumped together as interlopers and greasers. In April, 1849, vigilantes at Sutter's Mill drove away masses of Chileans, Mexicans, and Peruvians, and on July 4, a similar event occurred along the Sacramento. More than a thousand Chileans poured into San Francisco with the Hounds in pursuit. Although the danger to Chileans in the northern mines began to decline, very few returned to work claims after these affairs.

Such was not the case in the southern mines where Chileans were far more numerous. Although the earliest discoveries had been made there by the Americans in 1848, by 1849 there were many foreigners, especially Latin Americans, who gathered there for safety's sake after the first outbreaks of violence against them. Los Muertos near Angel's Camp on the Arroyo de los Muertos was populated by Mexicans and Chileans. (At one time it was considered unsafe for any persons other than Mexicans and Chileans.) Lower Ranchería, two miles east of Dry Town, settled in 1848, was populated largely by Mexicans and Chileans and was known as a resort for criminals. A most famous case of racial animosity, the Chile War of 1849, occurred in Calaveras County where gold was found in quartz and where Latin Americans knew how to extract the ore using the *arrastre* and the "Chilean Mill" refinement of the *arrastre*.

Americans usually worked individual claims, and early miners' laws in camps favored such claims. But quite often Latin Americans worked in a sort of corporate venture. In the spring of 1849 a number of mining companies from Chile, Mexico, Peru, and other places appeared near Sonora with groups of *peones* to do the heavy work. They took out claims in the names of their *peones*, which the Americans considered illegal. Former governor Persifor Smith had said long before that only Americans could work and own the mines. Governors Riley and Mason knew that they could not control the situation, the former saying that the only possible government for mining camps was the local government, already established in a majority of the camps, which consisted of an *alcalde* who acted as recorder of claims, an arbitrator in disputes, and a committee of miners to judge crimes. The Yankees insisted that no slaves be allowed, and disallowed claims of slaves—or *peones*.

In the southern mines, the French and Latin Americans outnumbered the Yankees. Nevertheless, a mass meeting of Yankees gathered on the Tuolumne in July, 1849, and drew up a proclamation demanding withdrawal of companies of



foreign miners and notifying them to get out by July 9, or face removal by force. Both sides established separate camps.

The Chileans, however, were men of spirit. Dr. Concha of Chile Gulch, near Mokelumne Hill, determined to continue his operation and said he would drive off any interlopers from territory which he considered his own.

When in December, 1849, a group of miners from Iowa Hill moved into his territory (a "dry-blowing" ground), elected a judge and a military captain, and demanded that he and other foreigners leave within fifteen days, Dr. Concha acted. Realizing that he could get no aid from the local authorities (Judge Collier was a notorious enemy of foreign miners), Dr. Concha went to Stockton where he obtained a writ of eviction from Judge Reynolds who empowered him to serve the writ. Returning to Chile Gulch, Dr. Concha armed his countrymen and led them against the Iowa settlement. The result was the Chilean War which was wildly reported in the *Alta California*, although the American James J. Ayers—who was involved and wrote about it much later—blamed the Americans for bringing on the incident by their own warlike actions.

It was not much of a war, actually. Dr. Concha and a force of eighty foreigners (Ayers said sixty, the *Alta* first said two hundred) moved against the Iowa miners, killing three (Ayers said two) and capturing sixteen. The prisoners were marched towards Stockton. Ayers, who was one of the captives, tells us that Dr. Concha tried twice to get the local alcalde to take the prisoners off his hands but the alcalde refused. According to Ayers, on the march towards Stockton the Chileans debated killing the prisoners, but desisted, and during the night the Americans slipped their bonds and grabbed the Chileans and their weapons. Afterwards, the Iowa miners went to Stockton and succeeded in rousing the people against Judge Reynolds, who barely escaped with his life. Dr. Concha, who had not been captured, was killed a few nights later in fandango hall in San Francisco. A miners' court tried the Chileans and sentenced two to death and four or five others to "50 to 100 lashes." Two of those whipped also had their ears cut off, and all were driven out of the mines.

A number of other such outrageous incidents and clashes, including a pitched battle between Chileans and Yankees, occurred in the southern mining area. In addition, in 1850 the opponents of foreign miners successfully conducted a legislative campaign for passage of a \$20-per-month tax on foreign miners. Organized opposition to that measure occurred in many places, especially at Sonora where a large number of Mexicans, Frenchmen, and Chilenos worked the mines. (Some 3000 memorialized the governor.) Many of these events were unsuccessfully appealed to the consuls in San Francisco.

Life was difficult for Chileans in California. Working in cold, wet conditions, they frequently fell ill. They became victims of malaria and other fevers and commonly contracted some form of diarrhea. In addition, they could not assimilate. They wanted to live as Chileans in California, but did not know the language or North American judicial ways.

While many Chileans died or returned to Chile, some did stay in the new home. In Marin County farmers settled Chilean Valley near the head of Tomales Bay. Manuel and Leandro Luco established the first charity hospital in Sacramento. Marysville owes its foundation to the initiative of a Chilean. The first

draught vessel that dared penetrate to Sacramento was the Chilean vessel, *Natalia*, owned by the Luco brothers. Chileans also engaged in wild speculation, selling shares in a city called Washington to duped countrymen still in Chile.

Meanwhile, the Chilean newspapers were filled with news from and about California. Many Chileans opined that very few Chilean emigrants ever got rich; some made money and paid for more Chileans to emigrate, but many returned to Chile. While the government of Chile had a liberal consul in California, Chileans unable to leave California warned, he had no resources to pay for return passage. Theatrical plays were even written to discourage Chileans from going to the place. "*Ya no voy á California.*" Although government officials joined the attempts to dissuade emigration, the warnings fell on deaf ears.

Equally ineffective and confused was the Chilean consulate's position in California. Chile's delay in establishing such a post<sup>7</sup> had finally prompted the Chilean chargé d'affaires, Carvalho, to appoint Pedro Cueto, as noted above. In California, however, there was considerable popular support for Samuel Price, a fat, jovial, industrious man of the people who had been helpful to newly arrived Chileans and who also had won the esteem of the Yankees. The situation became almost comical when, shortly after and independent of Carvalho's appointment of Cueto, the Chilean minister of foreign affairs named Samuel Price as consul. Price—a successful businessman who usually wore rolled-up pants and a coat and shoes covered with clay—had been recommended by Rosales and others.

There were good reasons for Price's appointment. He was Chilean-born, he knew Spanish and English, and he was known for his intelligence and generous aid to Chileans in California. Cueto enjoyed a better reputation for *honradez* and circumspection than Price, but it was felt that "without doing injustice to Cueto it can be said that Price had considerable advantage in the circumstances above enumerated." Hence, Minister J. J. Perez asked Carvalho to inform the United States government that it had revoked the appointment of Cueto. Perez also advised that if Price, who had not solicited the appointment, did not accept, Cueto's appointment would be made effective. To Cueto in California, the minister wrote that in case Price refused, he should function and keep the ministry informed of further outrages against the Chileans. "The United States," he noted, "very eagerly claims indemnities for its citizens who suffer minor injustices and outrages and even at times without this motive." The minister even authorized Cueto to give sick and indigent Chileans return passage—up to 1500 or 2000 pesos—but not Chileans who brought about their cases because of bad conduct. As well, he wrote, "All to whom you make grants must sign and promise partial repayment."

Subsequently, Price turned down the appointment.<sup>8</sup> The position carried no salary, and Price declined it for that reason, permitting him, also, to avoid embarrassing Cueto. Price affirmed that Cueto was patriotic, had a good attitude, and was capable. Accordingly, the minister then approved Pedro Cueto as consul. Cueto had emigrated from Chile in late 1848 or very early in 1849, to find a "future" that did not exist in Chile. His subsequent appointment was favorably viewed. The *San Francisco Journal of Commerce*, commenting on January 28, 1850, said that he was a gentleman and that the government could not confide in a person "*mas digna*" than he.

Appointed by Carvalho on August 16, 1849, Cueto received his delayed commission on January 15, 1850, and immediately entered upon his difficult and frustrating duties. In his early dispatches, he spoke frequently of the sick and indigent Chileans who wanted to return home. "Please, Señor Minister, consider the matter and manner or methods to relieve them of their misfortunes," he wrote. In reply the minister told him to use the funds from the 40,000 pesos appropriated for that purpose.<sup>9</sup> Cueto's dispatches were often detailed and seldom happy. His observations ranged from the problems of deserted Chilean vessels to numerous calamities such as fires in San Francisco and floods in Sacramento in which Chileans—especially Price and company, Domingo Guzman, and Cueto's own company—lost heavily. He also supervised the return of twenty-three Chileans aboard HMBS *Driver*.

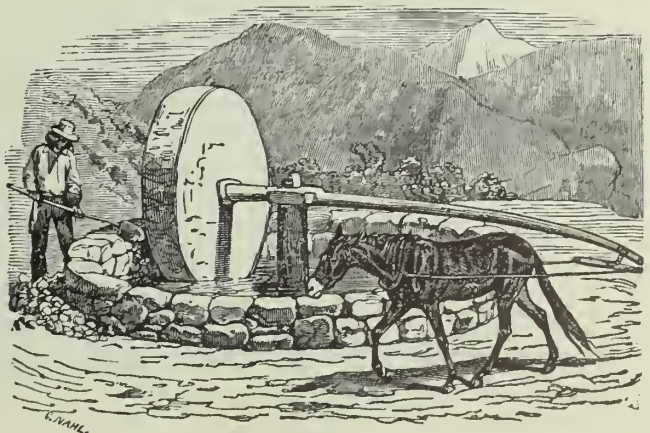
Unsalaries, Cueto had to continue to make a livelihood, and his business suffered. Then, in his dispatch No. 6, dated May 30, 1850, he informed the minister that he had to leave the country. Knowing that the minister had initially appointed Samuel Price, Cueto therefore officially requested Price to take charge of the consulate.

Better judgment to the contrary, Price assumed the onerous position only because of a deep sense of duty to the beleaguered Chileans in California—because, he wrote, "the interests of Chile and Chileans in California would not be taken care of." In financial straits because of serious losses stemming from the San Francisco fires, he begged the Chilean minister to relieve him as soon as possible of the consulate duties which demanded time and expenses.

Price was an astute observer, and he conscientiously assumed his varied duties. He reported accurately the small disturbances in San Francisco, as well as the frequent assaults, murders, and other crimes in the mines to the south. "It is too bad," Price wrote, "that so many Chileans get sick without money or resources to return to Chile," and he asked that Chile provide some funds or measures to help them. In addition, he noted, despite the demand for Chilean exports, especially wheat, Chilean vessels were charged higher duties than other nations' vessels because of the expiration of the United States-Chile treaty on January 19 (but not enforced until June 15, 1850).

In a dispatch, Price reported at length on some fundamental problems. "California society is entirely under the *imperio* of brute force," he wrote at one point.

Chilean gold-seekers, frequently skilled miners (and, thus, resented by inept Yankee novices), brought the chile mill to California. When gold could no longer be found in free form, the mill, improved in design, became invaluable for mining gold from quartz leads.





"Day by day I painfully see dissipated the illusion that richness of the country had produced among us, inspiring false hopes to so many Chilean foreign artisans, who with very few exceptions have been bitterly frustrated and who, employed in Chile with equal economy and labor might have obtained results no less flattering than those that were promised them."

From a dispatch of August 14, 1850, it is evident that Price was convinced that Chilean persons and property were in grave danger. The legal and law enforcement authorities were venal and corrupt in San Francisco and worse in the mines where no authority existed upon which Chileans could rely. Judges there were appointed by *capricho* of Americans, perhaps, criminals, to support their own views. They were neither accountable to superiors, nor had they power of enforcement. No legal authority operated before whom a foreign government could make a claim. The United States military had surrendered its authority, and California was not yet a state. Californians had framed their own constitution, and because the United States government had not recognized California as a state, it would not be responsible for proceedings of an incompetent authority. The result was chaos. Price warned Chileans not to be drawn to California since everyone there wanted to get rich quick without care for legality of the means used, although he recognized that Chileans sometimes survived because of their competence in commerce and the courage with which they repelled aggression. The Americans, Price reported, believed that South Americans were Indians, "zambos," or Negroes and, therefore, unworthy of a social position equal to their own.

The demands on Price were awesome. In addition to attempts to protect the lives and property of Chileans, he sometimes found it necessary to dip into his own pocket to pay hospital bills and burial expenses. "If I do not leave the consulate soon my business will go to ruin," he complained, and, indeed, his business interest in Sacramento suffered because he had to remain in San Francisco to dispatch vessels which could not move in his absence. "PLEASE RELIEVE ME OF THE CONSULAR DUTIES," he pleaded.

The Chilean foreign office seemed insensitive to his financial problems as well as those of other potential consuls. At one point the office suggested appointment of consuls in Monterey and San Diego, which Price rejected because of the absence of Chileans there. Stockton and Sacramento, however, needed consuls, but no Chileans wanted the position for reasons "such as I give for myself," said Price. In October, however, Price transmitted news of the admission of California into the Union which, reported Price, would make it easier for the consulate to do its work.

Throughout his career as consul, Price continually pleaded for his relief so he could pay attention to his business. For a time he had been aided by Chileans in the interior, but now they, too, had left for Chile. When the winter of 1850-51 set in, public works stopped, and there was more unemployment among city-dwelling Chileans, more robberies, assaults, some assassinations, and rain. Many Chileans asked help from Consul Price. He was able to get work for some, and some returned to Chile at government expense.

Not totally unresponsive, the foreign minister acknowledged Price's good work and attempted to meet some of the problems. For example, Chile began to

require captains of vessels returning from California to take on board some of the unfortunate Chileans. This measure, however, met with scant success. More than once the Chilean government expressed its appreciation to Price for his efforts in personally taking the responsibility for returning luckless Chileans.

Even the consular succession from Cueto to Price was fraught with confusion. The problems involved the furniture, supplies, books, and seal of the consulate which, it had been agreed earlier, would be supplied to the incumbent by the embassy in Washington because of the difficulty and high price of obtaining them in California. Eventually, the Chilean government authorized Carvalho in Washington to send Price the necessities for carrying on his duties, noting in passing that "Price is another person very difficult to replace because of his intelligence, honesty, his love for Chile, and especially on account of the circumstance *de no militar contra ól la animosidad excaudaloso que existe en California contra los sur-Americanos* and especially against the sons of Chile." Meanwhile, the government, though slow to act, was considering some modest *retribución* which might stimulate Price to continue, because he had already manifested his inclination to retire or withdraw from the consulate.

Price's repeated threats to resign had their effect. Congress finally passed a project of law empowering the government to assign salaries "to Consuls such as you [Price] who have too many onerous duties." The government also empowered Price to spend more money for the return passages of sick and indigent Chileans, although the amounts authorized fell short of the need.

When Price received news that the Chilean Congress had projected a law which would make salaries available to consuls, he responded immediately and positively. If the government, he wrote, would pay the necessary consulate expenses—for an office clerk, for necessary consultations with expensive lawyers, for burials and other expenses—"then I am disposed to give all my knowledge and experience to the job, and will devote all my time to the consulate, to the benefit of my country." In addition he reported that there were other Chileans living in California, some of fortune, who, he believed, had "the aptitude necessary to fulfill consular duties." Among others he named Buenaventura Sánchez and Rafael Orrego, both well known and having sufficient "*recursos y luces*."

Price himself had suffered severe losses in the many San Francisco fires, and his bitter pleas to Chile for funds were justified. "Most of the Chileans here are from the class inferior of the population of Chile; they do not speak English and are looked upon with suspicion by the Americans. They cannot do anything for themselves under present conditions; they come to the consulate and I cannot deny them assistance." At first Price appealed for contributions from Chilean merchants, but, he reported, "there are not more than four of them here and I stopped molesting them." Undoubtedly, too, he was frustrated that the French and English consuls were furnished funds for aiding their unfortunate compatriots.

Although Price threw himself wholeheartedly into the duties of his office, he could accomplish little in the way of aiding his Chilean countrymen. And his optimism soon gave way to pessimism as his projected or promised salary never materialized. Finally, on October 15, 1851, he informed the foreign minister of his intention to resign and leave for Valparaíso at month's end. He was appointing Guillermo Murray to fill the duties of consul of Chile "until Your Excellency

A quasi-military organization of ruffians known as the "Hounds" attacked Chileans living in San Francisco's Little Chile after forcing many of them to give up gold-seeking in the northern mines.



appoints a successor." "Murray," said Price, "is very recommendable, honest, loves Chile, and is intelligent and will be as good as I in the job." He also told the minister that he would report to him personally in Chile. Leaving on November 3 on the Swedish brigantine *Clara* for Valparaíso, he reached Chile in January. From Santiago he wrote to the minister on January 29, 1852, enclosing the financial account of his tenure as consul in San Francisco. His expenses included payments to the police, lawyers, and hospitals and funds expended for newspaper advertisements, apprehension of deserters, passage, and office rent. "You will see the costs to me which is the reason for my presenting my resignation," he concluded.

Price's successor, William Murray of Edinburgh, Scotland (where he was a member of the botanical society), emigrated to California from South America about 1850. He was left provisionally in charge of the Chilean consulate in November, 1851, and was officially confirmed on May 1, 1852. It was during his tenure that difficulties in the southern mines occurred. In the midst of these troubles, Murray had to leave for Europe, absenting his office from November 1, 1852, to the end of March, 1853. To fill the consulate post, he appointed Felipe Fierro who took charge *ad interim* on October 19, 1852. The Chilean foreign minister appointed Francisco Salvador Alvarez in November, but Alvarez, too, left for Europe. Fierro thus filled the position as acting consul until January, 1854, when Alvarez returned. During the interval Fierro, not a Chilean, did a remarkable job of reporting and attempting to aid Chileans. Yet, certainly, part of the Chilean consulate problem was the constant turnover of consuls.

As already noted, American hostility to Chileans and other foreigners in the mines was such that as early as August 14, 1850, the *San Francisco Picayune* reported "from 15 to 20,000 Mexicans, and perhaps an equal number of Chilenos are now leaving or preparing to leave for their own country." The numbers were



undoubtedly exaggerated, and the *Picayune* erred, too, in assuming that most, if not all, were returning to Chile. In fact, many Chileans were flooding into already overcrowded San Francisco where the Americans had responded by passing laws prohibiting aliens to engage in draying, driving hackney coaches, and many other jobs.

When a Chilean wrote from Mokelumne Hill to Price (whom he thought was still Chilean consul) on September 18, 1852, of the injustices to the Chileans in the mining region, Consul Murray wrote to the Chilean government, as had all his successors, that lacking money, he could not travel to the mining region to investigate the recent outrages. In a new twist to the consul's difficulties, when the California supreme court upheld the law imposing a \$20 per month tax on foreign miners, many Chileans and others refused to pay this large sum, offering instead to pay a much lower amount. This decision led to increased hostilities and, indeed, a near-war in Sonora where the Chileans, frequently allied with Mexicans and French, joined forces as indicated in the following posted notice: "Note to foreigners: It is time to unite, Frenchmen, Chileans, Peruvians, Mexicans, there is the highest necessity for putting an end to the vexations caused by the Americans in California."

Interestingly, the forced exodus of foreign miners from the southern mines caused a loss of business to merchant suppliers of Stockton and Sonora who then held protest meetings, sent a memorial to Governor Burnett, and raised money to fight the foreign miners' tax law in the courts. These efforts, however, proved as fruitless as consular protests, and only a few Chileans remained in the mines where they had established their own communities. The Yankee war to exclude foreigners from sharing the all too fleeting wealth of the California lode was ended.

Clearly, most of the early Chileans who rushed to the glitter of California gold failed to secure a piece of *El Dorado*. The Chilean government's unwillingness to pay adequate consular salaries added to their disillusionment. While the government permitted consuls to receive fees for services, the need for aid to poverty-stricken and ill Chileans overwhelmed their moderate incomes. Attempting to compensate for the lack of funds by permitting the consuls to engage in business accounted in part for the great turnover in office and the frequent absences from California.<sup>10</sup> Finally, much later when Chile's economic importance to California as a supplier of provisions declined, the importance of the consulate in San Francisco did likewise. Moreover, when law returned to California and the chaos of the gold rush became history, the pressure on the consulate became less intense. Yet Chile had made its mark in California, as had many Chilenos. When western history is written, let us acknowledge the Chilean contributions to the opening of the West.

THE LITHOGRAPHS on pages 54 and 65 are from *Hutchings' California Magazine*, 1:387 (March, 1857) and 2:153 (October, 1857). The Hounds illustration is from *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 21 (new series): 553 (February, 1892). The sketches on pages 57 and 58 are reproduced from Vicente Peréz Rosales, *Diario de un Viaje a California* (Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1971).

## NOTES

This paper was read as a presidential address before the International History Honor Society, Phi Alpha Theta, in New Orleans, December, 1971. It is based upon material in Chile's Archivo Nacional, located in the Biblioteca Nacional in Santiago. The principal sources were the diplomatic and consular correspondence found in the Relaciones Exteriores series. While Fulbright professor at the National University of Chile in Santiago, I studied Chileans in California and calendared the correspondence of the Chilean consuls. In preparation is a fuller account and a calendar of the materials in the Archivo Nacional relating to California. This calendar will include additional series and materials from other archives and libraries in Santiago.

1. Among the society's elected officers were C. R. Lee, president; J. C. Pullis, steward; and Samuel Roberts, chief rioter and master of military. The Hounds collected an initiation fee of ten dollars.

2. Municipal authorities were powerless to stop the Hounds' outrages and, indeed, the alcalde was suspected of being in league with them. Colonel Mason and his few soldiers made no attempts to stop the Hounds.

3. Because no municipal or state courts were then in existence, a jury of twenty-four was selected which indicted twenty offenders and put them on trial. The jury found them guilty of conspiracy, riot, robbery, and assault with intent to kill. Sam Roberts, arrested on his way to Stockton, and five other leaders were given long prison sentences.

4. On July 28, Carvalho had written Chile of the need for appointing a consul, but since he "did not know anyone capable to fill the job," he deferred appointing one.

5. The Chileños worked and earned enough to eat, according to information received by Vallejo, but because of their ineptitude or bad health they could stand the inconveniences they had to suffer.

6. Some members of the Chilean Congress were adamant that Chile should not depend on foreigners, but should themselves bring back their capable and industrious nationals who wanted to return to Chile but lacked the necessary funds.

7. Despite suggestions to the Chilean government of the importance of establishing a consulate in California, the foreign office wrote to Carvalho on June 28, 1849, that they recognized the need for a consul in California, "but thus far no person capable of exercising the duties of a Consul has presented himself to us" and "that as soon as persons may apply they will be appointed." The foreign office, however, did authorize Carvalho to appoint consular agents.

8. On the same day that Cueto finally received his appointment and exequatur from Carvalho in Washington, Samuel Price received the letter from the Chilean minister of foreign affairs appointing him consul in San Francisco. The letter had been dated October 20, 1849, but on November 17, before receiving it, Price had left for the Sandwich Islands, and not until his return to San Francisco on January 15, 1850, did he receive the letter of appointment. Price replied to the foreign minister on February 15, but since he could not afford to assume the post unless a good salary accompanied it, he declined the offer.

9. On August 18, 1849, Foreign Minister J. J. Perez wrote to Rear Admiral P. Hornby, Chief of Her Majesty's Pacific Squadron, asking him to aid and protect and grant passage to Valparaíso to distressed Chileans in California. Chile, he wrote, would pay. Hornby replied that the HMS *Inconstant* was leaving for California and carried such orders. When the *Inconstant* arrived in California and issued an invitation to Chileans who were sick or poverty-stricken, only six individuals took advantage of the offer. A larger number, some very ill, had returned to Chile on other vessels. On November 1, 1849, for instance, the Chilean frigate *General Freire* arrived in Chile from San Francisco with seventy passengers. The HMS *Driver* returned twenty-three to Chile.

10. Just after the revolution in Chile in 1849 the consular service of Chile was reorganized. A new law outlined the forms and types of assistance which consuls were empowered to give Chilean subjects. The duties, tributes, and immunities, as well as the rights of Chilean consuls, were set down in regular form. Fees for services and emoluments which would be collected by consuls were specified. Yet, for a long period, the office of Chilean consul remained without assigned salary, and not until early in the 1880's did Chile raise the status of the post to consulate general.

# Their Pride, Their Manners, and Their Voices: Sources of the Traditional Portrait of the Early Californians

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 on Hubert Howe Bancroft, A Venture in History*

THE TRADITION OF THE GRACIOUS, LEISURELY LIFE of the early Californians has attracted many authors who have added to the tradition with works of their creative imagination. They have given us a picture of a carefree, gallant, finely dressed people who lived rather more nobly than the present occupants of the state. The men they depicted were ruled by honor and, though sometimes cruel, were graceful and courtly in manner. The women, whether spirited or gentle, were virtuous and beautiful. Over men and women alike rested the benevolent tyranny of the Church, visibly represented by the adobe missions and the crucifixes and other symbols with which the Californians surrounded themselves.

Much of this tradition has foundation in the reports of Americans on the California scene before 1849, which, though having their own biases, are relatively free from the sentimentalizing of later fiction and belles-lettres. There is in most of these reports a justification for the American action in taking California from Mexico—even in the early accounts in which such action is not foreseen. There are brief histories of petty tyrants in government and out of it and of comic-opera wars. Descriptions of dirty houses, dirty and gaudy clothes, and dirty, naked Indians may be found in all narratives; vermin and viciousness, greed and grease abound; yet the seed for such works as Gertrude Atherton's *The Splendid, Idle Forties* and Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* is there.

Four works, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, Two Years Before the Mast* by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Life in California* by Alfred Robinson, and *What I Saw in California* by Edwin Bryant, were particularly popular with eastern audiences of the period, and an examination of them shows what part they played in launching the California tradition and the general climate of observation in which the favorable words stand out. This tradition could not, of course, have grown without the pathetic appeal which the vanquished has for the victor, but neither could it have been completely fabricated. In these accounts appear the



honorable, courteous gentlemen and the kind, virtuous women that formed the sentimental prototype, as well as the louts and the hussies which ceased to be represented as typical Californians in the later works. The narratives are all autobiographical and were submitted for publication by their authors; therefore, they are all conscious literary efforts, creative in some measure. They have become source material for writers of imaginative works as well as historians. Despite their provincialism, biases, and, in Pattie's case, self-aggrandizing falsehoods, they are eyewitness accounts, and all were published within a short time of the events they describe.<sup>1</sup>

*The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie* was ghost-written for the young mountain man by Timothy Flint, the editor of the *Western Monthly Review*. Flint was a Harvard graduate and an advocate of the West as a place where the individual could achieve his best self, free of institutions. Pattie had appeared at the office of the *Review* in 1830, told his story of extensive travels with his father in the West as a mountain man, and so caught Flint's imagination as to put him to work on the book at once (introduction, v-vi). It was published in 1831.

The book is a tall story in which the words of narrator and ghost writer are almost inextricably blended. It is easier to say of a euphemistic passage that this must be Flint's than to identify any passage as Pattie's. Certain parts of the story have been checked, however, and H. H. Bancroft established from Mexican records that the Patties reached California and were jailed in San Diego (introduction, viii-ix). The tyrannical character of General Echeandía which makes Pattie's account of the unprovoked occasion of that imprisonment credible is confirmed by Alfred Robinson's statements about the general.

According to the *Narrative*, the military governor of California, General Echeandía, whom Pattie calls Echedio, received the Patties and their companions in San Diego after they had been brought as prisoners from a lower California mission. He then tore up their passports with a "sinister and malicious" smile, accused them of being Spanish spies, and dispatched them to prison cells, separating father and son (pp. 158-59). Pattie was not permitted to visit his father in his last illness, and he attended the funeral only through the intercession of a "noble minded and kind hearted young lady," a sister of a sergeant of the guards, who had taken pity on Pattie during his imprisonment and endeared herself to him by "undeviating kindness" in securing him food and clothing (pp. 163-168).

After some months in jail, Pattie secured his freedom by expansively promising

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1. Quotations and paraphrases have been identified by page number only in the text, or by author and page number when the work cited is not obvious. Citations are taken from the following editions:

Pattie, James Ohio. *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*. The 1831 Edition, Unabridged. Introduction by William O. Goetzmann. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, c. 1962. 269 pp.)

Dana Jr., Richard Henry. *Two Years Before the Mast*. Introduction by Mark Van Doren. (New York: Bantam Books, c. 1959. 334 pp.)

Robinson, Alfred. *Life in California*. Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. (Oakland: Biobooks, 1947. 147 pp.)

Bryant, Edwin. *What I Saw in California; Being the journal of a tour by the emigrant route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the continent of North America, the great desert basin, and through California, in the years 1846, 1847*. (Santa Ana, Ca.: Fine Arts Press, 1936. 481 pp.)

to vaccinate all the Spaniards and Indians in California against smallpox (p. 193–201). After having vaccinated 22,000, with no reward unless he turn Catholic, Pattie found time to lead in the suppression of a small revolution and capture its leader, General Solís. (Pattie had learned Solís planned to expropriate American-held lands and force Americans out of the country unless they joined the Church.) For this service to General Echeandía, Pattie received a passport to Mexico and left California by sail to seek redress from the Mexican government for his wrongful treatment (pp. 204–17).

Robinson, who was in California at the time, mentions no smallpox scare, nor does he say in the paragraphs he devotes to the Solís uprising (Robinson, p. 44–45) anything about the involvement of Americans on either side. How Pattie really got out of jail is not of concern here. His attitudes toward the Californians are.

Pattie's estimate of the Californians was as bitter as could be expected from his experience in prison and his strongly Protestant background. Of the people he says: "The cowardly and worthless are naturally cruel" (p. 151). "I have no faith in the courage of these people, except they have greatly the advantage or can kill in the dark, without danger to themselves. This in my view is the amount of a Spaniard's bravery" (p. 184). Of the priests, on the occasion of a visit to a prospering mission with large herds, orchards, and vineyards, he remarks sardonically: "These wise and holy men mean to make sure of the rich and pleasant things of the earth as well as those of heaven" (p. 155). Of Californians in general, he observes at the close of a eulogy on the beauty and fertility of their land: "Its inhabitants are equally calculated to excite dislike, and even the stronger feelings of disgust and hatred. The priests are omnipotent and all things are subject to their power" (p. 216).

However, even in the jailed Pattie's worm's eye view of California culture, there is a softer note. Whether or not the sergeant's gentle-hearted sister was a real person, her virtue, piety, sympathy, and beauty fit into what was to become a stereotype of California womanhood. The venal soldiers and officers would become, in the tradition, merely lazy and good natured; the efficient, autocratic priests would be transformed into benevolent, lovable father figures; but the women needed no further softening. Pattie had created the image.

Pattie's image of the California lady was contradicted by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in *Two Years Before the Mast*, but this popular and excellent work, published in 1840, added new elements to the California tradition. Dana's images were forceful because they were the observations and reflections of a cultivated man, who was determined to be as objective in recording his impressions as he could be.

Dana, a Harvard undergraduate from a leading Boston family who signed on a California-bound trading ship when he was forced to interrupt his studies by a temporary eye affliction (introduction, p. vii), first saw the Californians in Monterey in 1835. His impressions were not favorable.

"The Californians are an idle, thriftless people and can make nothing for themselves," he reports. He then enlarges upon this theme, telling of their raising good grapes and buying bad Boston wine, exporting hides and importing shoes (p. 59). These people, indeed, must have seemed alien to a Boston Brahmin to whom the hard work, lack of intellectual companionship, and petty tyranny of shipboard

life were preferable to several months of idleness among family and friends, and who, in his limited leisure, was amassing notes for a book.

In Monterey, Dana observed the caste system based on an individual's amount of Spanish blood (p. 60), and a pageant could be costumed from his precise descriptions of the *gente de razon*. His indictment of the morals and of the fondness of dress of the women is as harsh as if he wore the sober Puritan black.

The fondness for dress among the women is excessive, and is sometimes their ruin. A present of a fine mantle, or of a necklace or pair of earrings gains the favor of the greater part. Nothing is more common than to see a woman living in a house of only two rooms with the ground for a floor, dressed in spangled satin shoes, silk gown, high comb, and gilt, if not gold, earrings and necklace. If their husbands do not dress them well enough, they will soon receive presents from others [p. 61].

This aspersion contradicts Pattie's image sharply and definitely. It may be argued that sailor Dana was seeing a far different type of woman than Brahmin Dana knew at home, but that there were drabs in California, and in numbers, is established. Dana is convincing in this instance, as in others, because of his ability to bring the reader to the scene by meticulous observation of detail and orderly presentation. There is no attempt, as in Pattie, to cut a figure; there is an attempt to see clearly and record accurately. The writing, though it conveys unmistakably the prejudices of its author, is unburdened, insofar as the Californians are concerned, with either grievance or apology. Subjective judgments are presented simply and lucidly and usually in a detached manner. Poetic imagery is so sparingly used that an occasional outburst is particularly compelling.

Next to the love of dress, I was most struck with the fineness of the voices and the beauty of the intonation of both sexes. Every common ruffian-looking fellow, with a slouched hat, blanket coat, dirty under-dress and soiled leather legging, appeared to me to be speaking excellent Spanish. It was a pleasure simply to listen to the sound of the language, before I could attach any meaning to it. . . . A common bullock driver, on horseback, delivering a message, seemed to speak like an ambassador at a royal audience. In fact, they sometimes appeared to me to be a people on whom a curse had fallen, and stripped them of everything but their pride, their manners, and their voices [p. 61].

The last sentence is a concisely stated myth in itself, eloquently and faultlessly

*Though often of humble circumstances, Mexican Californians were celebrated as generous and hospitable to the fullest measure, unhesitatingly sharing their meager fare with weary observers of the fleeting California idyl.*





expressed. "A people on whom a curse has fallen" invests the Californians with the dignity of tragedy and the excitement of high romance. "Their pride, their manners, and their voices" is a beautifully moving sequence of words which seem set in logical and rhythmic order to display the grace and dignity of those qualities Fate had left them.

Dana, however, does not dwell on any of the implications of his statement, but begins his next paragraph: "Another thing that surprised me was the quantity of silver in circulation." He was consciously concerned with a chronicle, not a poetic work, and his observations continue.

"The men in Monterey appeared to me to be always on horseback. . . . There are probably no better riders in the world" (p. 64). The evaluation in this second sentence by the young man who had never seen the plains Indians, let alone the Cossacks or the Gauchos, but who generally set a low value on the Californians, compels us to believe an impression so powerful as to bring forth this superlative. (Bryant substantiates this opinion [Bryant, p. 434], but his words are so close to Dana's that they appear to be a paraphrase.) Dana writes also that children were placed on horses at four or five years and seemed to grow to them (p. 64), an observation confirmed by Robinson (Robinson, p. 59). Horsemanship, of course, is now part of the tradition and has stepped out of literature into pageantry, so that many festive parades feature miniature *charros* in braided velvet, cradled in enormous saddles.

Toward the end of his stay in California, Dana witnessed a fandango following the wedding of Alfred Robinson—agent for the trading company which owned the ship on which Dana sailed—to a daughter of Don Antonio Noriega, head of one of the first families of the state. The grace of the male dancers together with the spirit and beauty of the women captured his imagination. This is his comment on the dancing of one of the gallants, Don Juan Bandini:

He moved about with the grace and daintiness of a young fawn. An occasional touch of the toe to the ground seemed all that was necessary to give him a long interval of motion in the air. At the same time he was not fantastic or flourishing, but appeared to be rather repressing a strong tendency to motion [p. 191].

Dana praises the beauty of the bride's sister and tells sympathetically how she played a favorite prank of the ladies, breaking an egg filled with cologne on a gentleman's head. He then describes how the ladies danced in hats which the men had dropped over their eyes, throwing them off or not according to their inclinations toward the owners. Dana closed the scene with an uncomplimentary portrait of countryman Robinson "pinned and skewered" into his sober, formal black (p. 193).

Something of this warmth and softening toward the Californians must have been in Dana's mind when he wrote the conclusion to the chapter, "California and its Inhabitants": "In the hands of an enterprising people what a country this might be! we are ready to say. Yet how long would a people remain so, in such a country?" (p. 136). Dana had been disturbed, even though briefly, by the attraction of the cultivated grace and gaiety he had observed. Knowing that the idleness of easy living made these things possible, he visualized Americans softening completely in such a place. If, at other places in the book, his portrait of the Califor-

nians seems harsh, it may be because his repugnance towards idleness was not matched by a repugnance towards some of its fruits, and he could see about him Americans and children of Americans who were little disturbed by this conflict of taste and value and succumbed to the California sickness (*i.e.*, laziness) with no apparent struggle (p. 137).

The doomed Californians were of great interest to the romantically inclined reading public of slightly later date, and authors found Dana a rich original source. If his observations of the land and its harbors were detailed enough to provide a setting for these writers, so were the more complimentary and romantic of his observations on the inhabitants useful to build characters to people the setting. As Dana feared, later generations of American Californians could not so heartily condemn idleness and extravagance as he had, and his accusation of almost universal immorality against the women is dismissed. Cultivations of character such as pride and manners, physical beauty, and accomplishments such as beautiful diction, physical grace, and notable horsemanship remain to augment the California tradition.

In 1828, Alfred Robinson sailed from Boston to California as a representative of Bryant, Sturgis and Co., the trading company on whose ship Dana later sailed. Unlike Dana, Robinson remained to marry and make his home. In 1840, he published *Life in California*, a combination of personal and historical narrative, which, though it is concerned with contradicting some of Dana's harshest judgments such as that on feminine virtue, confirms his verdict on the laziness and improvidence of the Californians.

Robinson states firmly that, "there are few places in the world where . . . can be found more chastity, industrious habits, and correct deportment than among the women of this place." He observes that the virtuous and the immoral mingle freely and familiarly at public gatherings and that this is misleading to strangers, "who form, in consequence, incorrect opinions" (p. 47). So much for Dana!

However: "The men are generally indolent, addicted to many vices, caring little for the welfare of their children, who, like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society" (p. 47). Moreover: "You might as well expect a sloth to leave a tree that has one inch of bark left upon its trunk, as to expect a Californian to labor while a *real* glistens in his pocket!" (p. 89).

Here the Yankee upbringing shows itself again, the same regard for thrift and industry that characterizes his fellow Bostonian's account. Although Robinson did not have Dana's gift for expression, there are striking similarities in the attraction and repulsion which they experienced toward California. Soon after he disembarked in San Diego, Robinson observed a customs house abandoned because it had been built in a poor location and a presidio left half-constructed after it was discovered too difficult to supply with water, and he concluded that the government was not wise or efficient (p. 11). Many months later, after living in California in constant political unrest, he heard rumors that the Hudson's Bay Company, contemplating establishing an agency in San Francisco, was interested in more than trade, and he considered the possibilities of British rule: "The country would prosper under their jurisdiction as it undoubtedly must if it should ever come under our own. Whatever may be its fate, it can never be in worse hands than the present" (p. 125).

Much of *Life in California* concerns the endless political ferment and the coups and revolutions of California political and military life, and, in the center of much of it, is Pattie's enemy, General Echeandía. Robinson confirms Pattie's characterization of Echeandía, although Robinson was received into California by the general with "true Spanish dignity and politeness" (p. 11). Echeandía in power set out to secularize the missions and free the Indians, threatening this vast system with ruin; Echeandía deposed gathered a few followers and continued to entice Indians from the missions. After Echeandía's defeat, Robinson remarks: "What a scourge he has been to California. What an instigator of vice. . . . The seeds of dishonor sown by him will never be extirpated so long as there remains a Mission to rob, or a treasury to plunder" (p. 88).

Yet Robinson himself gives one of the most vivid pictures of the tyranny of the missions over the Indians which we have. Robinson—after detailing the apartments of Mission San Luis Rey and their uses, the full granaries, and the enclosures for carts and farm implements—mentions the guardhouse where a dozen soldiers were stationed and passes on to the 3000 Indians working at the mission.

In the interior of the square might be seen the various trades at work, presenting a scene not dissimilar to some of the working departments of our state prisons. . . . The conditions of these Indians are miserable indeed; and it is not to be wondered at that many attempt to escape from the severity of the religious discipline at the Mission. They are pursued, and generally taken, when they are flogged, and an iron clog is fastened to their legs, serving as added punishment, and a warning to others [p. 17].

When Father Antonio Peyri gave up the direction of Mission San Luis Rey and made ready to leave California, Robinson recounts how "the tear of regret coursed down the cheek of the good old friar as he recalled to mind the once happy state of California." The friar, Robinson believed, foresaw the effects of liberty

*A "typical" Mexican-California couple was depicted as a lovely, pious, and gentle señorita strolling with a bespurred and slightly petulant companion—he, apparently, only recently dismounted from his favored horse. Much was made in literature of the day of this subtle competition for the horseman's affections.*





and equality among these people who were not prepared for self-government (p. 76), and in his account of the event, Robinson shows deep sympathy with the friar of his viewpoint.

Except for the account of Indian serfdom at Mission San Luis Rey, Robinson appears at all times an apologist for the Church which he joined before his marriage. On its spiritual leaders he wrote:

The friar's knowledge of the world, and his superior education, place him in a sphere to inculcate good or disseminate evil. Fortunately, however, for the country, the original founders of Christianity in California were truly pious excellent men, and their successors, generally have endeavored to sustain their honorable character [p. 47].

The generalities of the passage roll like a catechism and are in striking contrast in import and style to the eyewitness account of the miseries of the mission Indians. It is very different in style also from the pronouncements on male Californians and their government which have been cited above. Robinson was not a gifted writer, but his book does have a fairly straightforward manner of narration. He seems to have been unable to put this lofty sentiment into his own words. However, in this passage, as well as in less strained paragraphs in the book, we meet the Franciscan friar of the mission for the first time in the role of benevolent father to the community, a role which it has pleased tradition to fix for him. The brutality of the missions in the exploitation of their Indian charges plays no part in the legend which surrounds them.

Another important element, apparently closer to the fact, was first added to the tradition in the pages of *Life in California*. Robinson, from his first day on shore, was the recipient of a gracious, warm-hearted hospitality on every hand. The quarters and the fare might vary, but the welcome was the same:

Yet if their walls were cold and their floors damp, their hearts were warm, and the abundance of their luxurious entertainment more than compensated for any disappointment" [p. 11].

Here we partook of chocolate with the lady of the house. . . . The old lady, a fine, motherly, good woman, had acquired by her affectionate manner toward strangers the esteem of all who knew her [p. 28].

The traditional evening dancing party, the fandango, had been described by Dana, but the California picnic, the merienda, is first presented by Robinson. The description of the merienda (pp. 126-27) offers an extremely pleasing pastorate with its covered carts full of gentle-bred revellers, its dinner on a cloth laid out on the grass, and its mock bull fight with a reluctant bull retreating to the middle of a pond.

Bulls did not always fare so well, however, because tying a bull and bear together to gore and tear at other was popular sport (p. 66) (Pattie, p. 214). Another cruel recreation was the cockfight, one of which Dana saw at Santa Barbara (Dana, pp. 103-04), and, of course, many writers had commented on the cruel Spanish spurs. The tradition has had to allow the Californians a cruel streak, so that a picture of an oddly dichotomized society of tender-hearted women and bestial men has sometimes appeared in the Californians created by later writers, and this dichotomy may be inferred from the passages on each sex in *Life in California*.



*This bucolic scene of Mission San Carlos and the Bay of Carmel from an early California history published in England reinforced the developing image of California as a land where benevolent friars and child-like natives lived together in Christian harmony.*

If Alfred Robinson had not become a Catholic and married into one of California's first families, his portrait of California might have been as close to Dana's in all respects as it is in some. As it stands, his defense of the Church and of California womanhood are couched in his most affected prose. It forms, however, part of a romantic picture that Californians have wanted to see of their past, so it has been accepted into the tradition at face value.

Like the works of Dana and Pattie, Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California* is concerned with much more than California and its inhabitants. Half of the book is devoted to the trek of the emigrant party, including Bryant, which reached the Sacramento Valley at the end of August, 1846, to find northern California in American hands (p. 214). The remainder is an account of Bryant's travels in the state and of his march with General Frémont from San Juan Bautista to Los Angeles. The portion of the book dealing with California is fattened with secondary material in the form of quotations and historical narration, as well as proclamations from the military leaders of the time.

*What I Saw in California* is pertinent to this study in that it attributes to the Californians, at the very moment that their country was lost to them, the better qualities which earlier works grant them. The dirt of the decayed missions, the treachery of the miserable Indians, and the reluctance of the California troops to fight is mentioned but not editorialized upon. More favorable impressions are treated with greater concern.

Bryant was not received into the homes where Robinson was welcomed, but he found the same open-handed hospitality in humbler settings. He found poor fare occasionally, but he was impressed by the spirit in which it was given.

The foreign occupants of the mission buildings, to whom we applied for accommodations for the night gave us no satisfaction . . . we were at last accomodated by an old



*A gallant and romantically garbed vaquero was the subject of this lithograph from an 1839 history of California. The illustration was captioned "Californian Mode of Catching Cattle, With a Distant View of the Mission St. Joseph [San Jose]."*

and very poor Californian Spaniard . . . all that he had (and it was but little) was at our disposal. A more miserable supper I never sat down to; but the spirit of genuine hospitality in which it was given imparted to the poor viands a flavor that was almost sumptuous. . . . A cup of water cheerfully given to the weary and thirsty traveller by him who has no more to part with, is worth a cask of wine grudgingly bestowed by the stingy or the ostentatious churl [p. 300].

Bryant also paid tribute to the deportment of the women.

There are no women in the world for whose manners nature has done so much, and for whom art and education have done so little. . . . In their deportment towards strangers they are queens when in costume they are peasants. None of them according to our taste can be called beautiful; but what they want in complexion and regularity of features, is fully supplied by the kindness, the soul and sympathy which beam from their dark eyes, and their grace and warmth of manner and expression [pp. 298–99].

Bryant, in discussing the Californians' love of dress, sharply criticized their exploitation by fellow countrymen. Dana had blamed the Californians for letting themselves be overcharged for goods which they could make for themselves; Bryant, overlooking the possibility of home manufacture, concentrates the blame on the American companies who, he said, made \$1.50 to \$2.50 on every hide they brought to the eastern market.

Immense fortunes have been made by this trade; and between the government of Mexico and the traders on the coast, California has been literally *skinned*, annually for the last thirty years. . . . For a suit of clothes which in New York or Boston would cost seventy-five dollars, the Californian has been compelled to pay five times that sum in



hides at a dollar and fifty cents; so that a *caballero*, to clothe himself genteelly, has been obliged to sacrifice about two hundred of the cattle on his rancho. No people, whether males or females, are more fond of display; no people have paid more dearly to gratify this vanity; and yet no civilized people I have seen are so deficient in what they most covet [pp. 303-04].

In his summary chapter, Bryant presents a strikingly different portrait of the California male. After remarking that they are all "well made, with pleasing sprightly countenances" (p. 433), he praises their horsemanship with many of the same terms Dana uses (Bryant, p. 434). Gambling, horse racing, and bull and bear baiting are mentioned, but Bryant does not moralize; indeed he says that gambling losses are paid punctually. Californians are also law-abiding.

They have been accused of treachery and insincerity. Whatever may have been the grounds for these accusations in particular instances, I know not; but judging from my own observation and experience, they are as free from these qualities as our own people [pp. 434-35].

Even though *What I Saw in California* was published within four years of the battle for California, part of which it describes, there is already a softening of attitude toward the defeated. California hospitality is described and praised in several places and, in the passage above, contrasted favorably with that of "foreigners." Although Bryant does not join in the general praise of the beauty of California women, and attributes their queenly manners to nature rather than cultivation, his generalizations about their "soul and sympathy" show already a sentimentalization more akin to Pattie's romancing than to either the objective distaste of Dana or the defensive formality of Robinson. The criticism of Yankee exploitation and the favorable picture of California men are new attitudes from an American writer. But they are romantic attitudes, for Bryant, never having experienced the annoyance of an inefficient, corrupt, unstable Mexican government of California, saw only a gracious way of life which he must have realized was ending.

The experiences related in these four California narratives took place within a time span of twenty years, 1826-1846, and the divergence in attitude among the earliest three is probably due to the difference in station of the observer and his motives in publishing, rather than to an increase in understanding over the years. Bryant's support of the Californians, extending even to defending California men, is more remarkable, although it may simply be an example of the American sentiment for the vanquished. At any rate, the good character given by Bryant to the area's inhabitants must have made California sound even more attractive to prospective emigrants and helped the sale of the book.

All the writers' observations seem to present the following picture: the Californians were a people in a plantation economy. Some of them lived graciously, owning large herds of cattle, and commanding the services of Indian serfs, while others lived hand-to-mouth. The women were or were not casual in their morals (depending on which account one believes) and comparatively hard working. The men were cruel in their recreations; even their horsemanship, fabulous as it is agreed to have been, was tainted by the cruelty of the rowelled spur. The missions had enslaved the Indians before their own decay, and this decay had robbed

the Church of moral as well as temporal force. The government had been so weakened by the quarrels of rival generals that it commanded no loyalty against the Americans. Caste was cherished; the gentleman did no work, and everyone aspired to be a gentleman. Love of the gesture (hospitality) and the appearance (personal finery) had been cultivated, often at the expense of courage, integrity, and the eagerness for growth that is necessary to keep a society alive.

This is the general portrait of California on which these early writers concur. Their pictures differed in details, but essentially they portrayed the moribund society outlined above.

There was, however, romance in these ruins, romance which caught the fancy of these writers as well as later ones. Pattie saw the beauty and goodness of a California woman; Robinson was warmed by the hospitality of the well-off and the mission-dwellers; Bryant was charmed by the graciousness of the very poor. But none of them wrote as compellingly of the Californians as did Dana, the one who made the greatest effort to be objective. The California tradition owes more to this Boston Brahmin, more than half-hostile to the strange way of life about him, than to any of the others, because his initial distaste and unwilling fascination are much more convincing than the affection of Robinson and the romancing of Pattie and Bryant.

Dana, who came nearest to seeing this civilization in the stark terms sketched above, was deeply impressed with the courtliness of speech and gesture which evidenced a higher culture than the tawdry one he saw. And Dana fancifully attributed its decay to a malevolent power in a statement more romantic than any other in these works—a legend in a sentence:

They sometimes seemed to me to be a people on whom a curse had fallen, and stripped them of everything but their pride, their manners and their voices.

The beautiful voices Dana heard are still, but the pride which was behind the love of dress and the showy horsemanship and the manners which made hospitality so memorably gracious are the backbone of the California tradition.

THE LITHOGRAPHS on pages 79 and 80 are from Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California* . . . (London: 1839), facing pp. 273 and 199. The illustrations on pages 74 and 77 are from *Hutchings' California Magazine*, 1:389 (March, 1857) and 3:249 (December, 1858). The Forbes prints are courtesy The Bancroft Library.

# REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

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## Pictorial Resources: Carleton E. Watkins Photographs

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *instructor of history, Laney College, Oakland*

In 1849 two young men from Oneonta, New York, came to California seeking fame and fortune. One of them, railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington, succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. The other, Carleton E. Watkins, became one of California's finest pioneer photographers.

Last November, San Francisco's Focus Gallery at 2146 Union Street presented a major exhibition of Watkins' work. Featured were pictures from the photographer's Yosemite and California mission series, made with a specially constructed 18" by 22" camera. Nearly all of the Watkins negatives were destroyed in the 1906 holocaust; thus the surviving prints in the Focus show are of great historical value. The mission series has been purchased by the Rare Books and Special Collections Department at the library of the University of California, Los Angeles, while the Yosemite pictures belong to private collector Gordon Bennett.

*Once the headquarters of the California mission network, by 1876 Mission San Carlos del Carmelo had been reduced to little more than a shell.*







Watkins photographed Mission San Juan Capistrano (left), published in 1776, long after it had been abandoned and before it was restored.

Legend has it that Watkins' photos influenced President Lincoln and Congress to grant to the state of California in 1864 Yosemite Valley for use as a state park. The valley was not included in the national park, created in 1890, until 1905.



Most of the structures in this view of Mission San Jose (left) were destroyed by earthquake.

Watkins opened his San Francisco studio in 1857, after learning the art of the daguerreotype in San Jose. In 1861 he journeyed to Yosemite Valley to make some of the earliest photographs of an area not yet aside for park purposes. One of the Yosemite prints won First Prize at the Paris International Exposition, and the series helped establish Watkins as a leading western photographer. Later he was to call his studio the Yosemite Art Gallery.

The mission series was photographed on a wagon trip through southern and central California in 1876. The pictures show most of the mission buildings in ruin, for it was a generation after secularization had occurred and many years before restoration began.

The stark, lonely quality of these photographs contrasts with the romantic grandeur with which painters portrayed Yosemite and the California missions during the late nineteenth century. Although Watkins was also an accomplished portrait photographer, the landscapes and mission pictures in the Focus show put little emphasis on man. When people occasionally appear in the photographs, they are dwarfed by nature or by massive mission walls. Some of the Yosemite views captured in Watkins' prints have been photographed again and again since his time, but Watkins must have been the first person to compose many of the now familiar scenes through a camera lens.

Legend has it that the old photographer, then seventy-seven, never recovered from the mental shock of witnessing the 1906 destruction of his studio and the glass plate negatives that represented his life work. Ten years later, an inmate at Napa State Hospital, Carleton E. Watkins died.

THE PHOTO on page 86, courtesy Society of California Pioneers; the others, courtesy Focus Gallery, San Francisco.

*An unknown photographer witnessed the elderly Watkins being led from his studio during the 1906 fire. His life's work was destroyed.*





## Book Reviews

LONGTIME CALIFORN': A DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF AN AMERICAN CHINATOWN.  
By Victor G. and Brett De Bary Nee. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973. xxvii,  
411 pp. \$10.00.)

*Reviewed by* PHILIP P. CHOY, *San Francisco architect.*

A popular theme in the current writing on the Chinese in America is that the Chinese are the bearers of 4,000 years of ancient wisdom and culture, and, therefore, worthy to be the recipients of the white man's benevolence. Each such writer is also compelled to include a list of so-called famous and successful men of that ethnic origin, to bear testimony to the fulfillment of the American Dream. On the other hand, writings from the ethnic communities echo the voices of angry men who have discovered that they have been short-changed in that same "American Dream."

*Longtime Californ'* neither embraces the American Dream nor is it a racially chauvinistic compilation of white America's guilt. But for those who flaunt the angry cries of the ghettos as flogging a dead horse, it is a reminder that our American dream has long since fermented into our American dilemma.

Using interviews gathered through several summers, the authors have documented and unfolded before the reader a social profile of America's oldest Chinatown, with all its complexity of the present and, yet, roots in the past within the historical perspective of the American West. As the authors themselves have discovered, "The response of white Americans to the fathers and grandfathers of the men who stand on Portsmouth Square today had decisively shaped the American Chinese society they entered at the turn of the century." To convey that the past is the basis for the present, the story of the Chinese community is divided chronologically into distinctive phases, that of the Bachelor Society, the Family Society, the New Working Class, and the Radicals.

Using personal interviews as the basis for the book has its merits—it imbues it with presence, as well as providing a surprising measure of information—but a danger lies in the unquestioning absorption of the interviews. An example can be found in the Bachelor Society categorization which, the authors maintain, characterized Chinatown at the turn of the century. These men were the victims of punitive immigration laws which condemned them to a life of bachelorhood. They repeatedly alluded to California's anti-miscegenation laws as a barrier to procreation. The resentment, however, is more an expression of indignation than a reality. The Chinese male had been thoroughly emasculated and was not a likely prospective husband for a white female.

In another section, the authors contend that the presence of small numbers of women slowly led to the establishment of the Family Society (defined by the authors as characterized by its small family businesses, where mother and father worked together while raising children in stores). For their children, a "stable family life," combined with the fading of anti-Chinese prejudice, led to a "tolerant attitude" toward discrimination by whites. However, the authors' definitive classifications (which wrap everyone into neat packages and place them in a specific time slot) are occasionally over-simplified. For an example, their narrow definition of the Family Society precludes those families without businesses, who did not fit either into the category of the Bachelor Society. Many fathers worked as cooks, servants, and janitors, and many mothers worked in the sewing factories, leaving their children to grow up unattended. Furthermore, some of the stability of the Family Society must have been uprooted with the exposure of their children to the white world. In addition, prior to the era of the New Working Class (defined as those individuals arriving in the 1960's), sons and wives were united with

fathers and husbands in America after long years of separation. Grown sons met fathers for the first time. This was not conducive to the establishment of a stable family, in spite of a tradition of filial piety.

Contrary to the authors' opinion, the outward appearance of stability in the family society is perhaps better interpreted as interest in maintaining a low profile—the tactic of not making any waves for fear of attracting attention. The Chinese would suffer the humiliation rather than revive the wrath of the white man. As to the authors' interpretation of "toleration of discrimination" by whites, it could well have been a defensive display of superiority made only to suppress the feeling of inferiority, rather than an expression of family stability.

In the discussion of the New Working Class, the emphasis is heavily on those who came after the liberalization of the immigration laws of the 1960's, bringing with them a new "dimension of spirit" and having "infused a new energy and hope." Along with the small immigrant professionals, who "witnessed the transformation and emergence of modern China," they brought "a new self-confidence and a new perspective to the American Chinese situation." In this lauding of the new immigrants, however, the authors have underplayed the role of the American-born liberals and radicals of Chinatown—motivated by the civil rights movement and the counter-culture movement of the 1960's—as an equal force in bringing Chinatown out of its isolation.

Despite a few unbalanced views, the book does project a generally accurate image of the community: for example, both the Bachelor Society and the Family Society were under the influence of the merchant elite, who, as leaders in the institutions with the Chinese Six Companies, dominated the affairs of the community. This relationship, which has been made such a mystery, has been de-mystified, something which has been long overdue.

Much of the background material cited has a familiar ring, which this reviewer assumes reflects the work of H. M. Lai, a dedicated and prolific researcher to whom the book is dedicated.

*Longtime Californ'* belongs in that class of current books on ethnic studies which confronts the reader with the socio-economic realities of the process called American democracy.

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CALIFORNIA: WHERE THE TWAIN DID MEET. By Anne Loftis. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1973. xiv, 281 pp. \$7.95.)

THE JEWS OF SAN FRANCISCO AND THE GREATER BAY AREA, 1859-1919. Sara G. Cogan, comp. (Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center, 1973. ix, 127 pp. \$22.50.)

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*Reviewed by* CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *reviews editor.*

Moses Rischin, in his foreword to *The Jews of San Francisco and the Greater Bay Area*, notes that, "Unlike other cities, San Francisco has thus far eluded the attention of urban historians." He claims that "the Far West's pluralism, no less than its urbanism, has been obscured." Perhaps this situation is changing. One of the best attended sessions of last December's American Historical Association Convention in San Francisco was a program titled "Identity and Self-Perception in Nineteenth Century San Francisco," and at another session on the "Historiography of the American West," Howard Lamar of Yale commented on the remarkable growth of interest in the history of western cities and minority groups.

Both books under review here are examples of this new trend. According to Anne Loftis, *California: Where the Twain Did Meet* tells the story "of the conflict of people of different races and nationalities, of diverse skills and ambitions, in California. . . ." Loftis provides a good summary of the experiences of various non-white groups in the Golden State and gives plenty of evidence for her claim that "perhaps in no other state has race prejudice been so virulent against so many groups. . . ."

But did the "twain meet" in the positive sense of forging a healthy society and regional culture in California? To answer that question we need to know far more about the inter-relationships between the various ethnic and nationality groups than Loftis tells us. Her chapter on European immigrants fails to compare their experiences with those of non-whites and fails to analyze the conflicts between white immigrants and non-whites that so often have occurred in California.

We probably now know more about the history of Asians, blacks, and Chicanos in California than the history of the many white immigrant sub-cultures. Thus, the kind of scholarly pioneering done by Sara Cogan is of great value. Her *Jews of San Francisco and the Greater Bay Area* is an annotated bibliography which serves as a companion to her earlier *Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode*. Cogan has listed "all significant works by and about those individuals who reached maturity before 1919, with the exception of such figures as Adolph Sutro, Abraham Ruef, Adah I. Menken, and Emperor Norton, upon whom much has been written." The annotations are useful, and the foreword by Rischin, director of the Magnes Museum's Western Jewish History Center, contains thoughtful comments on the state of the historiography of cities and ethnic groups of the West.

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CHILE, PERU, AND THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH OF 1849. By Jay Monaghan.  
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. 320 pp. \$11.95.)

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*Reviewed by* ABRAHAM P. NASATIR, *professor of history at California State University, San Diego, and author of the article on Chileans in this issue.*

Jay Monaghan, distinguished historical writer and scholar of the West, has attempted to place the California gold rush in a larger setting than most who write about that era. Having authored an excellent volume on Australia and the California gold rush, he now ventures into the field of Chile and Peru and the gold rush of 1849. Steeping himself in the literature, leaning heavily on Pérez Rosales' well-known diary and Hernández Cornejo's excellent two-volume *Los Chilenos en San Francisco* (which Monaghan's work makes more readable), and analyzing the newspapers of Valparaíso and Santiago for 1849, Monaghan has come up with a most readable account of the effects of the California gold rush on Chile and the participation of some Chilenos in that event. Had Monaghan been directed from the newspaper room about a hundred yards farther within the Biblioteca Nacional in Valparaíso, he could have read the diplomatic correspondence in the Archivo General and filled out his story with much more reliable materials than he used; he could also have consulted the California materials in the Archivo General which are now available in the United States.

However, Monaghan has added a great deal to the picture in two respects. One is the rounding out of biographical details about many of the characters and stories involving the Chileans in California. Secondly, he has given the first real account in English of the Peruvians in the California gold rush.

It is unnecessary to relate the many interesting stories and tales told by Monaghan of Chilenos and Peruvians in the gold rush. They are well told and based on solid research.



His conclusions in both the case of Peru and Chile are sound and reasonable. His writing is entertaining, his accounts interesting, and his illustrations numerous. The volume is well printed by the University of California Press. Monaghan has buttressed his text with many footnote references (at the end of the book) and a bibliography.

Any scholar can cite picayunish faults in such a work. For example, this reviewer thinks that Monaghan has relied too heavily on Bunster at times, and in his account of the activities of the nativist and anti-Catholic "Hounds," he fails to consult the excellent work of Grivas, *Military Governments in California*. Despite Monaghan's disclaimer of a full bibliography, this reviewer misses such works as Vélaz's *Historia de la Marina Mercante de Chile* or Carlos Lopez Urrutia's *Historia de la Marina de Chile*. Even Encina's work is not mentioned. Nonetheless, Monaghan has given us an admirable work on Chile and Peru and the California gold rush for the year 1849. This is not to say that he has given us a history of the Chilenos whose mark in California was also substantial in the years succeeding 1849—and still, in this reviewer's opinion, a part of the gold rush era. The latter remains to be written, as well as the official attitudes of the governments and their relations with, and to, California during this key mid-century event.

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THE AMERICAN WEST: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY. By Robert V. Hine. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973. xii + 371 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

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*Reviewed by* JOHN W. CAUGHEY, distinguished scholar and teacher in the field of California history and professor emeritus of history at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Robert Hine's *The American West* is the most charming running commentary on this subject since E. Douglas Branch's *Westward*, and that was a long time ago. As historians must, he narrates, though seldom if ever at chapter length. As his subtitle promises, he stops frequently to interpret or meditate on the reasons why, the state of mind of the pioneers, their expectations and how they were blunted, bent, or refracted. Because he is concerned with the influence of the frontier on the national character, he remarks on other interpreters, including self-styled historians, and their often fragmentary or distorted presentations and stereotyping.

At the outset Hine disavows any "pretense at objectivity or comprehensiveness." He proceeds then to exercise that option for free disclosure of his evaluations and opinions which, however, bear the stamp of having been objectively arrived at. Nor is his mood didactic or domineering. We gain the benefit of a fine scholarly mind.

Hine's disclaimer of comprehensiveness can be taken at face value. Chapters on New Spain, New France, and the English colonial frontier set the scene. The first concentrates on the conquistadores and explorers of the sixteenth century and then flows right into the late eighteenth century when Spanish holdings reached their zenith. It would be on these late Spanish borderlands that the "American" frontier would most impinge. The English chapter similarly stresses early seventeenth century beginnings and then jumps to the Paxton Boys and the South Carolina Regulators, bypassing the settling of the Piedmont, seen by many as the first genuinely American frontier.

Another four chapters progress from the 1780's to mid-nineteenth century. They deal with the fur trade, land policies and explorations, settlement of Texas and Oregon, and Manifest Destiny as affected by the Mexican and Civil Wars. In the last two thirds of the book the headings are topical by occupation (miners, the cowboy, railroad builders, the farmer) or by institutions (churches, schools, government) or by social texture (minorities, the western hero, the West as art, violence, and the western experience). In

some of these chapters there is a reaching back to earlier instances, but essentially the setting is the West of 1849 to 1890.

Freshness of detail, emphasis on personalities, and a fine feel for the telling phrase make this book an evocation of the period West. The illustrations fit the meditative mood. On New Spain they begin with Remington's *Conquistador*, Spanish cruelty to the Indians as visualized at a distance by De Bry and Champlain, and pastoral California in the far-ahead 1820's as limned by Choris and James Walker. A few are photographs; most are artists' conceptions of the frontier.

The eight or ten standard historical surveys of similar title were written as though for readers entirely innocent. Hine's is different. It will be better appreciated by those somewhat acquainted in the field. College students who have negotiated about two thirds of a course on the American West or an entire course on a major western state should find it stimulating, and many an uncampused but attentive aficionado of western history, of whom there are many, should find it rewarding.

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HETCH HETCHY AND ITS DAM RAILROAD. By Ted Wurm. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1973. 298 pp. Illustrations. \$13.50.)

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*Reviewed by* JOHN B. MCGLOIN, S.J., *professor of history at the University of San Francisco.*

This work is a pleasing and satisfying example of a needed book done by the one best equipped to write it. All students in the field of San Franciscana are aware of the importance of the Hetch Hetchy story and know that, until this present publication, numerous references have been made to it but no complete and accurately researched treatment has been available. For filling this niche and eliminating this need, readers of Ted Wurm's book will continue to thank him and his commendable industry. Here, then, an integral part of San Francisco's past and present is presented in attractive format—including "480 informative illustrations."

Mention is made in these pages of the so-called "Spirit of Hetch Hetchy," and it would appear that this is not mere fiction; it seems to this reviewer that the author is completely filled with it. His friends know how long and diligent have been his researches which have now given us this handsome volume; a rail fan of wide repute and already an author, Ted Wurm determined years ago that he would do the Hetch Hetchy story in what he hoped would be a satisfactory dimension. This he has now done. One finds a nice blending of two narratives—that of the Hetch Hetchy water project in general (and here the names of Mayor James D. Phelan, City Engineer Marsden Manson, Mayor James Rolph, Jr., and, especially, the "Chief," Michael M. O'Shaughnessy, are prominently mentioned) and that of the "Dam Railroad" (!) which was constructed to deliver supplies to the project and which had a very unique history indeed. Gone now, it surely has an honored place in the Valhalla of Transportation.

It was to be expected that such an ambitious project as the Hetch Hetchy water plan to bring mountain water from a distance of 150 miles to a thirsty city would be the subject of much controversy and, at times, the plaything of politics. As the necessary railroad pushed its railhead forward and as the various dams and other facilities were built, it took men of stubborn vision to press onward in spite of sturdy opposition. The vision of some very great men—a number of them hitherto unsung—is duly hailed in these pages. Long since, the whole project has more than justified itself; indeed, one is hard-put to envision San Francisco today without its regular delivery of Hetch Hetchy water from the Sierra. One gets the feel of it all here as Ted Wurm unfolds what became

to him a labor of love: he lived, ate, and breathed his story, and one senses that from his detailed and accurate narrative. All of the pictures are most helpful and their collection, in itself, demonstrates the industry of the author. As usual, Howell-North put the entire package together in its customary attractive manner. Indeed, the only flaw that this reviewer can find in a thoroughly enjoyable volume is that there appear to be no visible flaws at all. (What a delight to be able to write such sentiments occasionally!) Here, then, is a most valuable addition to the literature of San Francisco history.

## California Check List

PETER EVANS, *CHS librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1972 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, be sure to give the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Peter A. Evans, Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free.

Ainsworth, Katherine. *The McCallum Saga—The Story of the Founding of Palm Springs*. Palm Springs: The Palm Springs Desert Museum. 1973. \$?; 245 pp.

Averbuch, Bernard. *Crab Is King; The Colorful Story of Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco*. San Francisco: Mabuhay Publishing Co. 1973. \$2.95; 190 pp.

Baird, Joseph A., Jr., and Edwin Clyde Evans. *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco*. San Francisco: Steven A. Waterson for Burger and Evans. 1972. \$3.75; 40 pp. 48 lithographs; Burger & Evans, 3421 Geary Blvd., San Francisco, CA 94109.

Bohakel, Charles A. *A Guidebook to Mt. Diablo, the "Devil" Mountain of California*, rev. ed. n.p.: Charles A. Bohakel. 1973. \$1.50; 20 pp.; Charles Bohakel, 4 Brisdale Pl., Antioch, CA 94509.

Boyd, William Harland, ed. *A Climb Through History: From Caliente to Mount Whitney in 1889*. Richardson, Texas: The Havilah Press. 1973. \$6.50; 64 pp.; 807 Clearwater Drive, Richardson, Texas 75080.

Butte County Branch, National League of American Pen Women. *Butte Remembers*. Chico: Butte County Branch, NLAPW. 1973. \$5.50 plus tax; 84 pp.; Mrs. Walter Clarke, 1505 Citrus Ave., Chico, CA 95926.

Carpenter, Edwin H. *Early Cemeteries of the*

*City of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$10.00; 50 pp.

Chandler, Samuel C. "*Gateway to the Peninsula*"; *A History of the City of Daly City*. Daly City: City of Daly City. 1973. \$6.00; 150 pp.; Daly City Public Library, 275 Southgate Ave., Daly City, CA 94015.

Clover, Haworth A. *Hesperian College, 1861-1896*. Burlingame: The Hesperia Press. 1973 (?). \$12.50 plus tax; 140 pp.; P.O. Box 1583, Burlingame, CA 94010.

*Chatters-Hallack Family History and Genealogy*. Lindsay: Mt. Whitney Litho., Inc. 1973. \$2.50; 54 pp.; 140 East Honolulu St., Lindsay, CA 93247.

Couro, Ted, and Christina Hutcheson. *Dictionary of Mesa Grande Diegueno*. Banning: Malki Museum Press. 1973. \$5.02; 118 pp.; Malki Museum, 11-795 Fields Rd., Banning, CA 92220.

Curtiss, Richard D. *Thomas E. Williams & The Fine Arts Press*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$12.50; 119 pp.

Delano Historical Society. "*Where the Railroad Ended*," *Delano Centennial Yearbook*. Delano: Delano Historical Society. 1974. \$0.00; Dick Yount, Centennial Commission, 1826 7th Ave., Delano, CA 93215.

Doten, Alfred. *The Journals of Alfred Doten*, 3 vols. Edited by Walter Clark. Reno: Univ.



- of Nevada Press. 1974. \$60.00; 2400 pp.
- Easlon, Steven A. *The Los Angeles Railway Through the Years*. Anaheim: n.p. 1973. \$4.00; 72 pp.; Dawson's Book Shop, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA.
- Ellman, Phyllis, La Bess Brash, and Anna-Jean Cole. *A Garland for John Thomas Howell On His Seventieth Birthday*. Belvedere-Tiburon: Landmarks Society. 1973. \$3.09; 14 pp.; Landmarks Society, Box 134, Belvedere-Tiburon, CA 94920.
- Ervin, J. McFarlane. *The Participation of the Negro in the Community Life of Los Angeles* (thesis, 1931). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. Reprint 1973. \$?; 77 pp.
- Garber, D. W. *Jedediah Strong Smith: Fur Trader From Ohio*. Stockton: Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies. 1973. \$4.50; Univ. of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95204.
- Forbes, Alexander. *California: A History of Upper and Lower California; From Their First Discovery to the Present Time* (1839). New York: Arno Press. Reprint 1973. 352 pp.
- Gray, Thorne B. *Quest for Deep Gold, The Story of La Grange, California*. Modesto, Southern Mines Press. 1973. \$2.25 plus tax; 48 pp.; Southern Mines Press, 410 Fleetwood Dr., Modesto, CA 95350.
- Hafen, LeRoy R., and Ann W. Hafen. *The Joyous Journey of LeRoy and Ann W. Hafen: An Autobiography*. Glendale: A. H. Clark. 1973. \$11.50; 335 pp.
- Hedges, Ken. *A Rabbitskin Blanket From San Diego County*. San Diego Museum of Man Ethnic Technology Notes No. 10. Ramona: Ballena Press. 1973. \$1.50; 12 pp.; P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Heizer, Robert F., and C. W. Clewlow, Jr. *Prehistoric Rock Art of California*. Ramona: Ballena Press. 1973. \$12.50; 386 pp.
- Heyman, Therese Thau. *Mirror of California; Daguerreotypes*. Oakland: Oakland Museum. 1973. \$3.35; 32 pp.; Oakland Museum Book Store, 1000 Oak St., Oakland, CA 94607.
- Hoopes, Chad. *What Makes A Man: The Annie E. Kennedy and John Bidwell Letters, 1866-1868*. Fresno: Valley Publishers. 1973. \$5.95.
- Johnston, Robert B. *St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 1873-1973; A Centennial History*. Salinas: St. Paul's Episcopal Church. 1973. \$?; 96 pp.
- Knox, Maxine, and Mary Rodriguez. *Exploring Big Sur, Monterey, Carmel: Highway One Country*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press. 1973. \$1.95; 126 pp.
- Koch, Margaret. *Santa Cruz Country—Parade of the Past*. Fresno: Valley Publishers. 1973. \$11.50; 264 pp.
- Lee, Ellen K. *Newport Bay: A Pioneer History*. Newport Beach: Newport Beach Historical Society. 1973. \$9.90; 144 pp.; 2005 Dover Dr., Newport Beach, CA 92660.
- León-Portilla, Miguel. *Voyages of Francisco De Ortega, California 1632-1636*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$12.00; 75 pp.
- Lewis, Henry T. *Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory*. Ramona. Balena Press. 1973. \$6.50; 148 pp.; P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Lillard, Richard G., and Mary V. Hood. *Hank Monk and Horace Greeley, An Enduring Episode in Western History*. Georgetown: Wilmac Press. 1973. \$5.95; 64 pp.; P.O. Box 248, Georgetown, CA 95634.
- Little, Lucretia Hanson. *Historic Chronology of Olompali*. San Rafael: Miwok Archaeological Preserve of Marin. 1973. \$.75; 7 pp.; 2255 Las Gallinas Ave., San Rafael, CA 94903.
- Love, Frank. *Mining Camps and Ghost Towns Along the Lower Colorado in Arizona and California*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press. 1974. \$7.95; 240 pp.
- Mathes, W. Michael, trans. and ed. *The Conquistador in California: 1535; The Voyage of Fernando Cortés To Baja California in Chronicles and Documents*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$15.00; 123 pp.
- Miller, Elaine K. *Mexican Folk Narrative From the Los Angeles Area*. American Folklore Society Memoir Series, v. 56. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press. 1973. \$12.50; 388 pp.
- Muir, John. *Two Essays on the Sights & Sounds of the Sierra Nevada*. Ashland: Lewis Osborne. 1973. \$15.00; 55 pp.
- Neasham, V. Aubrey, and William E. Pritchard. *Drake's California Landing; The Evidence for Bolinas Lagoon*. Sacramento: Western Heritage, Inc. 1974. \$2.00; 23 pp.; California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109.
- Newton, Horace Edwin. *Mexican Illegal Immigration Into California, Principally Since 1945: A Socio-Economic Study* (thesis, 1954). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. Reprint 1973. \$0.00; 69 pp.
- Norris, Barbara S., and Sally L. Bush. *Atherton Recollections* (taped and typed interviews). Atherton: Town of Atherton. 1973. \$1.00 plus tax & postage; 41 pp.; San Mateo Co. Hist. Assn., 1700 West Hillsdale Blvd., San Mateo, CA 94402.
- Outland, Charles F. *Stagecoaching on El Camino Real; San Francisco to Los Angeles, 1861-1901*. American Trail Series IX. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1973. \$12.50 plus tax; 339 pp.
- Pomona Valley Genealogical Society. *Pomona Cemeteries*, vol. I. n.p.: Pomona Valley

- Genealogical Society. 1973. \$7.50; 120 pp.; Georgia Morgan, 714 S. Hillward Ave., West Covina, CA 91719.
- . *Pomona Cemeteries*, vol. II. n.p.: Pomona Valley Genealogical Society. 1974. \$6.50; 155 pp.
- Quinn, Charles Russell. *History of Downey*. Downey: Elena Quinn. 1973. \$12.50 (hard cover), \$3.50 (paper); City of Downey, 8425 Second St., Downey, CA 90241.
- Rather, Lois. *Jessie Frémont at Black Point*. Oakland: The Rafter Press. 1974. \$15.00; 108 pp.
- Reade, Leslie. *Lord of the Californias*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press. 1974.
- Richards, Gilbert. *Crossroads: People and Events of the Redwoods of San Mateo County*. Woodside: Gilbert Richards. 1973. \$14.95 plus tax & postage; 128 pp., San Mateo Co. Hist. Assn., 1700 West Hillsdale Blvd., San Mateo, CA 94402.
- Robinson, John W. *Mines of the San Gabriels*. Glendale: La Sesta Press. 1973. \$1.95; 71 pp.; Box 406, Glendale, CA 91209.
- . *The Mount Wilson Story*. Glendale: La Sesta Press. 1973. \$1.00; 36 pp.; Box 406, Glendale, CA 91209.
- Ross, Thomas E. *Great Bike Tours in Northern California*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press. 1973. \$1.95; 109 pp.
- Ryan, Frances B., and Lewis C. Ryan. *Yesterdays in Escondido*. Escondido: F. and L. Ryan. 1973. \$7.95; Frances B. Ryan, 3429 E. Valley Pkwy., Escondido, CA 92027.
- Shaw, William. *Golden Dreams and Waking Realities (1851)*. New York: Arno Press. Reprint 1973. 316 pp.
- Slaymaker, Charles M. *Cry for Olompali; An Initial Report on the Archeological and Historical Features of Olompai*. San Rafael: Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin. 1972. \$4.00; 45 pp.; Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin, 2255 Las Gallinas Ave., San Rafael, CA 94903.
- Sleeper, Jim. *Turn the Rascals Out! The Life and Times of Orange County's Fighting Editor, Dan M. Baker*. Trabuco Canyon: n.p. 1973(?). \$11.00; 432 pp.; Box 291, Trabuco Canyon, CA 92678.
- Sligh, Yvonne. *Northeast California: A Bibliography of Historical Materials*. Chico: The Library, CSU, Chico. 1973. \$?; 66 pp.
- Stern, Norton B. *Baja California, Jewish Refuge and Homeland*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$10.00; 69 pp.
- The Story of the Burlingame Country Club, in La Peninsula*. San Mateo: San Mateo Co. Hist. Assn. 1973. \$1.00 plus tax & postage; 24 pp.; San Mateo Co. Hist. Assn., 1700 West Hillsdale Blvd., San Mateo, CA 94402.
- Swartzlow, Ruby Johnson. *Lassen, His Life and Legacy* (1964). Mineral: Loomis Museum Association. Reprint 1972. \$1.75; Loomis Museum Assn., Lassen Volcanic National Park, Mineral, CA 96063.
- Sweet, George E. *An Index of Historical Sources for the City of Santa Clara, California*. Santa Clara: n.p. 1973. \$?; Bob Hullinghorst, Director, Resources Development Internship Program, WICHE, P.O. Drawer "P," Boulder, Colorado 80302.
- Thornton, Jessy Quinn. *Oregon and California 1848 (1849)*. New York: Arno Press. Reprint 1973. \$3.93, 379 pp.
- Tuolumne County Historical Society. *A History of Tuolumne County, California*. San Francisco: B. F. Alley, 1882. Reprint 1973. \$15.00; 509 pp. plus appendix; Tuolumne County Historical Society, Box 833, Columbia, CA 95370.
- Verardo, Jennie, and Denzil Verardo. *Short Historic Tours in Big Basin Redwoods State Park*. Los Altos: Scimpervirens Fund. 1973. P.O. Box 1141, Los Altos, CA 94022.
- Weber, David J., ed. *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans*. Foreword by Ramon E. Ruiz. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press. 1973. \$4.95; 288 pp.; San Diego Historical Society, Presidio Park, P.O. Box 81825, San Diego, CA 92138.
- Weber, Francis J. *Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Harbinger of a New Era*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$9.50; 70 pp.
- Weber, Francis J. *The Pilgrim Church in California*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$12.00; 252 pp.
- Wheeler, Jean French. *Historical Directory of Santa Clara County Newspapers, 1850-1972*. Occasional Paper No. 1. San Jose: Sourisseau Academy for California State and Local History. 1973. \$2.00; 37 pp.; Robert E. Levinson, California State University, San Jose, CA 95192.
- Wittenburg, Sister Mary Ste. Therese, S.N.D. *The Machados & Rancho La Ballona: The Story of the Land and Its Ranchero, Jose Agustin Antonio Machado, with a Genealogy of the Machado Family*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$30.00; 72 pp.
- Woods, Daniel B. *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings (c.1851)*. New York: Arno Press. Reprint 1973. 199 pp.

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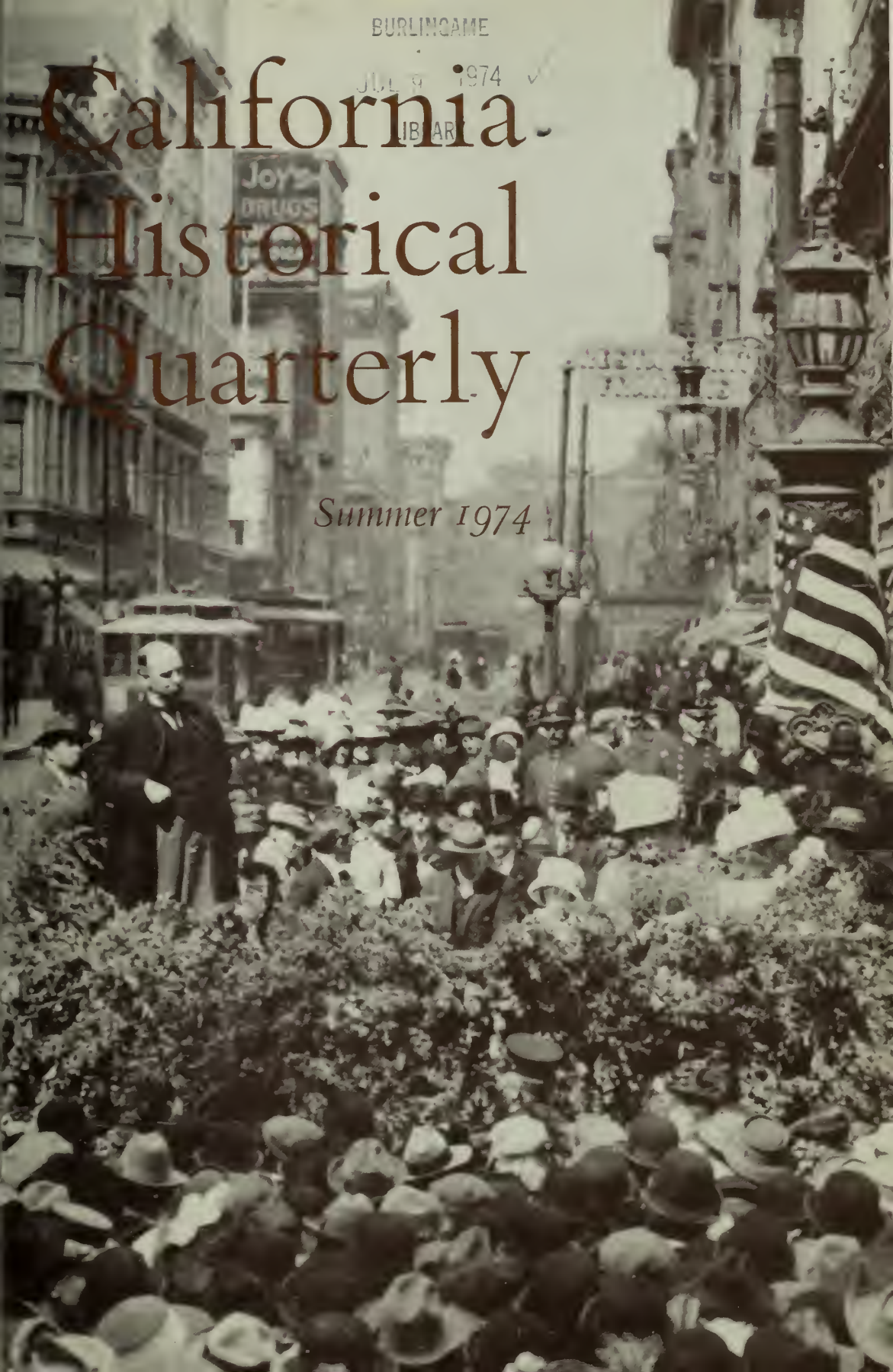
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# California Historical Quarterly

*Summer 1974*



# California Historical Society

Founded June 6, 1871

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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COVER: In 1912, Mayor James Rolph, Jr., better known to San Franciscans as "Sunny Jim" Rolph, dedicated a plaque to the opera singer Luisa Tetrazzini at the corner of Market, Kearny, and Geary. (The award commemorated her Christmas Eve, 1910, performance at the busy intersection which already boasted a fountain commissioned for another well-known woman artist, Lotta Crabtree.) A pictorial essay on the beneficent activities of Mayor Rolph, one of San Francisco's best loved patriarchs and promoters, begins on page 165.



# California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIII

SUMMER 1974

NO. 2

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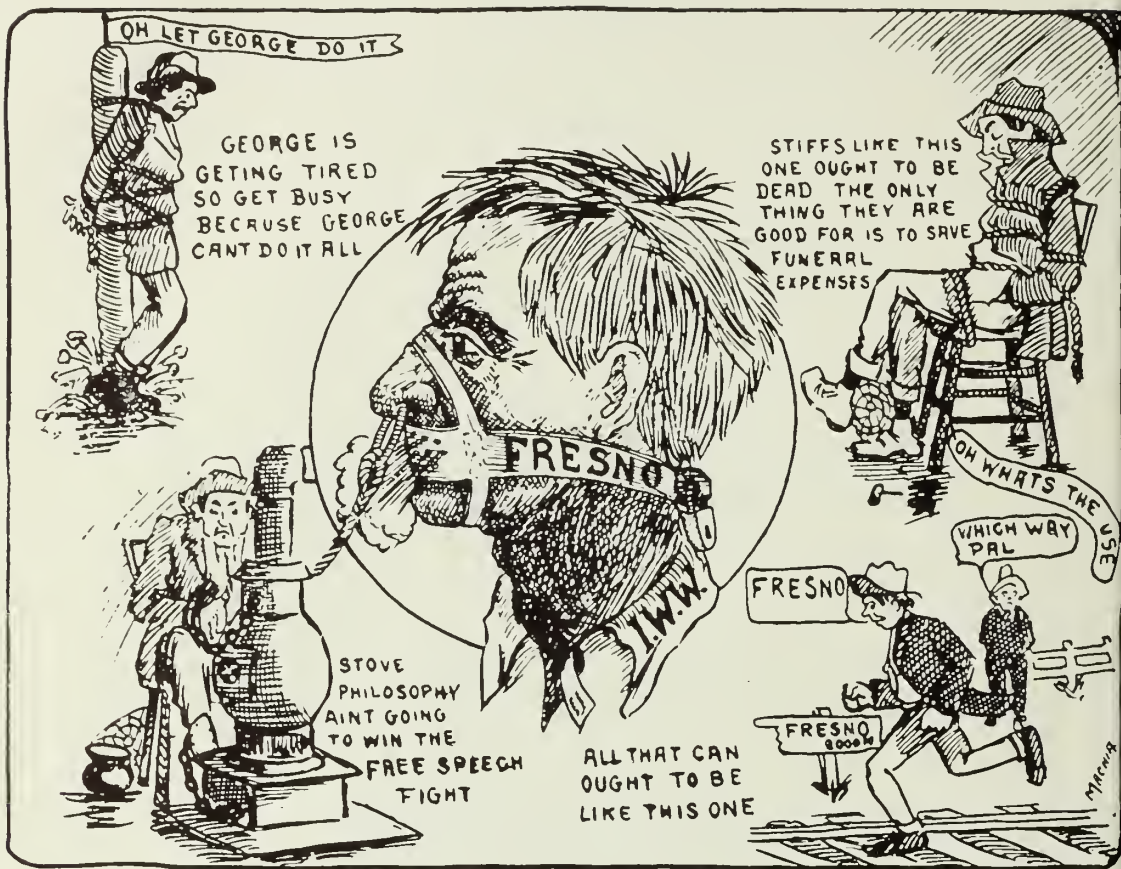
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Urging IWW members not to philosophize, pass the buck, or despair, the Industrial Worker graphically called workers to join the free speech fight in Fresno where Wobblies were being jailed for soap-box oratory.

# Industrial Workers of the World and their Fresno Free Speech Fight, 1910-1911

RONALD GENINI

*Teacher at Central Union High School of Fresno County*

THE FREQUENTLY SHATTERED—and frequently repaired—romantic image of California as the peaceful, pastoral land of Ramona continues to hide an ugly history of violence, depredation, crime, scandal, and discrimination. Rebellions and civil wars, banditry, race riots, genocidal Indian wars, marching armies of the unemployed, and terror bombings have all played roles in shaping the California we know. Among these less discussed flaws in the romantic image of the state were the free speech fights waged by the Industrial Workers of the World, a militant industrial union, in Fresno in 1910-1911 and in San Diego in 1912.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1950 there has been a renewed interest by scholars and laymen alike in the IWW. To the question "why?" several answers present themselves. The New Left finds some justification for its positions in a radical past; militants can identify with the IWW's tactics of "direct action," "free speech," and occasional violence in their assaults on the "Establishment"; moderates focus on the IWW's civil disobedience campaigns, their anti-war stance, and their fight for socio-economic justice; and even conservatives can take solace in the knowledge that the civil disorders they are witnessing have not been visited exclusively on their generation. In short, "present day concern about the use of violence as a vehicle for social change brings into focus the Wobbly experience."<sup>2</sup>

The radicalism of the Wobblies has insured them a place in California's labor history, although they were active in the state for only about fifteen years (1909-1924). During the early period of industrialization, labor's position was favored in the state, especially in San Francisco. Unionization as early as 1850, followed by Dennis Kearney's politically-oriented Workingmen's Party of the 1870's and the violent strikes of the turn-of-the-century, served as effective precursors for the Wobblies and their goals. National unions lagged behind their brothers in California, where the Workingmen had enacted the 1879 Constitution and labor candidates had taken control of San Francisco's municipal government in 1901. In 1886 the American Federation of Labor—espousing business unionism limited to skilled workers—was organized. When strikes by Marxist unskilled workers

failed in the 1890's, they began to seek a new aggressive organization which would appeal to a larger portion of the workers than the moderate or conservative components of the AFL.

At Chicago in 1905 these demands were met as eight unions (representing 50,000 workers), including William D. Haywood's Western Federation of Miners and Eugene Debs' Socialist Party, met to organize the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW's Preamble endorsed violent labor struggle, sabotage, and the general strike for revolutionary purposes. In 1908 the IWW rejected all political action in the class struggle and announced that its goals—"tak[ing] possession of the earth and the machinery of production and aboli[tion of] the wage system"—would be achieved through labor's economic action alone.<sup>3</sup>

Initially an eastern union, it soon found converts among the lumber men of the Pacific Northwest. The lumber camps, where the men worked long, hard hours for "starvation wages," were organized in 1907. Though a strike against the Portland mills failed, the workers secured some improved living conditions.<sup>4</sup> Filled with fervor for the IWW, organizers drifted south from the northwestern lumber camps and found willing listeners among the unskilled workers of California. Within a few years over twenty locals had been organized in the state.<sup>5</sup>

The IWW in California first limited its organizing campaign to the cities and towns where seasonal workers "holed up" after migrating to California ("where the climate was warm and living relatively cheap") from the midwestern grain harvests, via Canada and the Northwest.<sup>6</sup> Such cities and towns as San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, Fresno, Los Angeles, Bakersfield, and Brawley were concentration points for the casual day-labor markets. In these areas the organization claimed 12,000 members, though membership fluctuated widely because of the seasonal nature of farm work and mobility of the workers.<sup>7</sup>

The major efforts of the IWW in the larger cities of the Pacific Coast were expended on agitation and propaganda designed to imbue the casual laborers with class-consciousness. Several years' education of casual and migratory seasonal laborers was considered necessary before effective unionism could be accomplished. Though the IWW was engaged in a number of strikes, such activities were not designed to secure immediate improvements but to promote class consciousness and a feeling of solidarity, both prerequisites to the ultimate goal of "*the Revolution*."<sup>8</sup>

Relatedly, free speech fights were waged by Wobblies to keep the streets open for the purpose of organizing a union. "It was thought," a Wobbly theorist recalled, "that without street meetings . . . the jobless, homeless, migratory workers could not be organized." Typically, the conflicts began when Wobblies mounted soapboxes to publicize the extortionist practices of "bushwa" labor agents in the "slave market" sections of cities where migrants "holed up." Sounding to business circles as anything from seditious unpatriotism to obscene immorality, Wobbly street speaking was usually attacked by quickly passed municipal prohibitory ordinances.

Between October, 1909, and June, 1910, the IWW engaged in free speech fights in Missoula, Montana; New Castle, Pennsylvania; and Spokane, Washington. From each of these the Wobbly forces emerged victorious. With the arrest of their speakers for violating the street-speaking ordinances, hundreds of





*Wobblies chose the intersection of I and Mariposa streets in downtown Fresno as the site for their confrontation with Fresno authorities on the free speech issue. They employed the now-familiar tactic of passive resistance. Photo c. 1905.*

Wobblies would be called by the union's national newspaper, the *Industrial Worker*, to descend on the town, to peacefully harass its officials, and to fill its jails. Reacting to the opening shots in the first free speech fight, the *Industrial Worker* encouraged its readers to "Quit your jobs. Go to Missoula. Fight with the Lumber Jacks for Free Speech. Are you game? Are you afraid? Do you love the police? Have you been robbed, skinned, grafted on? If so, then go to Missoula, and defy the police, the courts and the people who live off the wages of prostitution."<sup>9</sup> Victory was in each case assured when the town in question proved unwilling to bear increasing amounts of adverse publicity.

The initial embarrassment of some cities locked in the free speech fights at the lack of prohibitory ordinances was the result of an American tradition of free speech and the right of assembly. California's two constitutions (1849 and 1879) granted these rights in Article I, sections 9 and 10. Between 1871 and 1911 California courts had decided on at least thirty-nine cases involving these freedoms, most of them dealing with libel.<sup>10</sup> Some of these decisions expanded, while others limited, these freedoms; however, the decision *In re May Thomas* (1909) upheld the Los Angeles anti-street speaking ordinance as constitutional, thus clearing the way for similar ordinances in any other anti-Wobbly city.

Fresno, with a population of nearly 25,000, was the principal city of the San Joaquin Valley, a region given over to wheat fields, vineyards, and orchards.<sup>11</sup> The city had been founded as a Southern Pacific Railway station in 1872, it had been the Fresno County seat since 1874, and it had been chartered as a city in 1885.

Most of its population had been drawn from the southern states and generally voted for Democratic candidates though, in 1909, a Republican physician, Chester Rowell, had been elected mayor. As an agricultural community Fresno had been out of the mainstream of turn-of-the-century labor agitation, though it saw Coxey's army pass through on its way east in 1894. In sympathies it was more inclined to San Francisco than to Los Angeles, and it boasted of large immigrant colonies of Armenians and Italians. Its opinions were formed and expressed by Dr. Rowell's nephew and namesake, Chester H. Rowell, owner of the *Fresno Morning Republican*, a moderate Progressive sheet, and Paul Vandor, owner of the *Fresno Evening Herald and Democrat*.

Fresno also had the most militant and spirited IWW local in the state, with a membership drawn from Mexican railroad workers and migratory farm hands. Local 66, which met above the Cosmopolitan Restaurant on Mariposa Street, had been organized by one-eyed Frank Little ("part American Indian, part hard-rock miner, part hobo, . . . all Wobbly"), a veteran of the Missoula and Spokane free speech fights.<sup>12</sup> In the event of serious trouble, Fresno was also the home of Companies C and K of the 2nd Infantry Regiment of the California National Guard.

In April, 1910, the first round in the police-Wobbly clash began when a Mexican Marxist was prevented by a police officer from haranguing his countrymen at the corner of F and Tulare streets on "the oppressing powers of the police." Frank Little thereupon produced a police speaking permit, but to no avail: the permit was made out to him, not the Mexican, and Little was ordered not to criticize the police.<sup>13</sup> In Chester Rowell's paper two days later he congratulated the wisdom of the Fresno street-railway workers for not responding to an IWW recruiter's exhortation to join the organization.<sup>14</sup> His main criticism of the IWW was that it was not a "businesslike" (e.g. AFL) union. (Ironically, the Progressives—of whom Rowell was a leader—also felt that the AFL goal of the closed shop was "antisocial, dangerous, and intrinsically wrong.")<sup>15</sup>

Some days after the confrontation with Little, according to the *Oakland World*, a contractor who found difficulty in recruiting sufficient low-paid workers to build a dam outside Fresno complained to Chief of Police William Shaw that the worker shortage was due to Wobbly agitators.<sup>16</sup> Then, on May 26, 1910, Elmer Shean, a young boilermaker helper, was arrested on a vagrancy charge for speaking on the streets of Fresno's Chinatown (roughly, F and Tulare streets).<sup>17</sup> The contractor's complaint and the arrest of Shean led Chief Shaw to revoke the IWW's permit to hold street meetings and to threaten to jail on vagrancy charges any man without a job. Working as a Wobbly organizer was clearly not considered a job.<sup>18</sup>

Four days after their permits were revoked the Wobblies held a mass meeting of protest. Little, calling Shaw "a petty official," hinted that a free speech fight was being considered.<sup>19</sup> However, due to police toleration, the noisy but peaceful meeting continued and served as a pressure cap which allowed tensions to calm down for nearly three weeks.

In late August, however, Little was arrested for "creating a disturbance" in front of the Fresno Beer Hall and jailed for twenty-five days. His brother, W. F. Little, was also arrested and subsequently released when the jury was unable to

determine his guilt.<sup>20</sup> Upon W. F. Little's arrest, he telegraphed Vincent St. John, the IWW national secretary in Chicago, to send help for a free speech fight. The *Industrial Worker* answered with the announcement: "All Aboard for Fresno! Free Speech Fight On!"<sup>21</sup>

Reflecting his strong Wobbly spirit, when Frank was later ordered to rake leaves in the courthouse park, he refused and was put in solitary confinement on a bread and water diet. In defiance, he repeated the admonishment which was already famous from the Spokane free speech fight: "Your jails and dungeons have no terrors for me." When he was then confined to the Tank, the Fresno jail's solitary confinement area, he broke into IWW songs, popular tunes adapted with revolutionary lyrics.<sup>22</sup> National Secretary St. John, however, concerned with Little's health, suggested that he return to raking leaves. Local 66 concurred, and Little raked leaves for the remaining sixteen days of his sentence.<sup>23</sup>

In a move to vindicate Frank, his brother brought perjury charges against the major prosecution witness, Ira Hapgood, but, while the hearing judge felt the charges were sufficient, Hapgood was never tried in a superior court. One student of the fight speculates that, despite the felonious nature of perjury, an out-of-court agreement was worked out between the accused and District Attorney Denver Church.<sup>24</sup>

While Little was in jail Labor Day, 1910, came and went, but it was not unmarked by trouble. Union locals planned a parade to the picnic grounds at Zapp Park, but the Wobblies were barred from participating because they wanted to carry red flags instead of the national emblem. On September 7 the *Republican* reported to its readers that a "disgruntled" and "miscreant" Wobbly had ripped away the national flag from its pole outside the Federated Trades Union Hall on I Street.<sup>25</sup> Despite this brief flare-up, peace was preserved for three weeks.

At the end of September, however, a Wobbly was arrested for refusing to pay a restaurant bill on "Socialist scruples." Three days later a man with a paid-up IWW card in his possession was shot while attempting to hold up the train depot at Firebaugh, in northwestern Fresno County. Little, shortly after his release, went to Coalinga in the southwestern part of the county and unsuccessfully attempted to organize the oil workers.<sup>26</sup> Throughout these events the *Republican* kept up its campaign of criticism.<sup>27</sup> Commenting on the Firebaugh shooting, Rowell's sheet surmised that "he was beyond a doubt on his way to Fresno to join in the free speech fight and decided to clean up some ready cash."

Chief of Police Shaw, too, kept the flames burning. Taking advantage of the attention given to Little's Coalinga efforts, he revealed that the IWW's Spokane newspaper threatened to have Wobblies by the score marching on Fresno and quoted from the paper: "We have got to win the streets of Fresno, we have got to show the Bosses that we mean business and that unless we make it stick in the Raisin City we are going to have trouble in other California towns."<sup>28</sup>

As predicted, from throughout the nation Wobblies began to march or ride the rails to Fresno. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* reported that an army of 100 unemployed men left that city to march on Fresno, expecting their forces to reach 1000 by the time they would arrive.<sup>29</sup> Rowell's *Republican* announced that free speech was not an unconditional right and predicted that if the IWW wanted war, the city would be happy to oblige.<sup>30</sup> Vandor, Rowell's journalistic rival,



declared that "for men to come here with the express purpose of creating trouble, a whipping post and cat-o'-nine tails well seasoned by being soaked in salt water is none too harsh a treatment for peace breakers."<sup>31</sup>

On October 14, the fight got underway with the arrest of thirteen Wobblies at the corner of I and Mariposa streets for speaking without a permit. The first arrested was Little; as the other Wobblies mounted the soapbox and spoke, they, too, were taken by the police. Little declared that Wobblies from Los Angeles were coming to join the seventy-five already in Fresno, but the police and the city continued to look optimistically to the outcome. That same day Wobblies had distributed leaflets describing the events of the past months—in violation of a city ordinance.<sup>32</sup> The next day seven more Wobblies were arrested, and the city moved to close every hall in town to them, forcing them to establish headquarters in a large rented tent at Palm and Belmont, then just outside the city's western limits. This relocation of Local 66's headquarters from Mariposa Street afforded the Wobblies some protection from the city police.

The twenty arrested Wobblies immediately followed their established tactic of demanding separate jury trials. This tactic was designed to cost the taxpayers the greatest expense, since juries had to be summoned, challenged, and impanelled. The judge partially granted their request by setting a trial date for late November, setting bail at \$250 per person, and refusing to grant separate trials. Frank Little's case was to be a test case whose findings would be applied to the other accused Wobblies.

The day after Little was arrested the city received a report from Southern Pacific Railroad workers confirming his threat: between seventy-five and one hundred Wobblies were camped along the tracks south of Fresno, in the vicinity of Fowler. Fifty Wobblies from Los Angeles had arrived the night of Little's arrest and more were promised from Spokane, Portland, and St. Louis. Mounting concern over the presence of these "undesirable characters" led to a meeting of several merchants who promised vigilante action in the near future.<sup>33</sup>

As well during October, the two Fresno newspapers kept up their anti-IWW stance by printing stories which named Wobblies as the guilty parties in many crimes: the insulting of a woman at a restaurant, a dynamiting, and a chicken theft, among others.<sup>34</sup> Regarding the press campaign, one long-time resident of Fresno, V. A. Pipkin, assesses that it was mostly composed of exaggerations, since the Wobblies, while troublesome, were rarely violent in the face of violent attempts by "law-abiding" citizens to deprive them of their legal rights.<sup>35</sup>

Then, in late October W. F. Little was arrested for drunkenness, which was prohibited by the IWW constitution. With his arrest—and his resignation from the organization—many dejected Wobblies opted for "floater" convictions (paroles permitting the prisoner to permanently leave town). A week later Shaw published a diary confiscated from one of the Wobblies which revealed a great deal of discontent over jail conditions. As a result of these turns-of-events, the *Republican* felt that the Wobblies would soon abandon the fight and depart. This view was prominent in Fresno into November.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, the police continued to make wholesale arrests which, by November 15, appeared to have defeated the Wobblies. By November 28, however, they reappeared on the streets, peacefully submitting to arrests as more of their

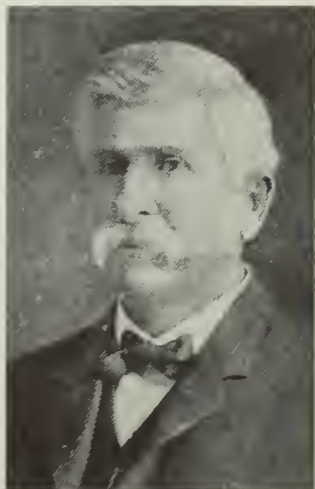
## IS IT ABOUT TO STRIKE?



*In October, 1911, the Industrial Worker raised the issue of a free speech challenge in Fresno to follow the successful fight in Spokane.*



*One-eyed Frank Little (left) inspired the Wobbly campaign. Mayor Chester Rowell (right) was responsible for the actions of some Fresno authorities.*



comrades arrived to take their places outside. As one scholar has since noted, in later times this tactic "was called passive resistance or non-violent protest. In Fresno in 1910, however, it was considered by many a somewhat cowardly action."<sup>37</sup>

On December 8, nearly two months after his arrest, Frank Little was brought to trial. He conducted his own defense and embarrassed Chief Shaw by pointing out that Fresno had no law against public speaking. After the judge in disbelief combed through the seven volumes of the Fresno City Ordinances, he was forced to release Little and twenty-four of the fifty-five imprisoned Wobblies. (The remaining thirty had been jailed on vagrancy charges.) In the absence of any law prohibiting street-speaking Shaw was forced to issue an order to his patrolmen that they were to allow Wobblies to speak on the street unmolested.

Refusing to take this surprising turn of events as final, the following night a large lynch mob assembled and, marching on the jail, severely beat up a number of Wobblies visiting their imprisoned comrades. Foiled by deputies from reaching the jailed orators, the mob dispersed and then regrouped to march on the Wobbly tent which they burned, beating the speakers, as well, and ordering them out of town. While the arson and assaults were being committed, the police, claiming that the attacks were Sheriff Chittenden's responsibility because they occurred outside the city limits, made no effort to interfere with the mob; however, Shaw did announce that the Socialist owner of the land would be prosecuted if the Wobblies were allowed to return.<sup>38</sup>

Assessing the motives of the mob and its leaders, a friend of mob leader Nig Normart, who was the son of Armenian immigrants, recalled that Normart "could not stand the Wobbly speakers," that he "likened them to Communists," and that he pulled an IWW speaker from a soapbox at I and Mariposa and beat him while he was on the ground.<sup>39</sup> Normart's son, William, credits his father's actions to "a few drinks."<sup>40</sup>

Obvious indications to the contrary, the evening of the attack, December 9, Secretary St. John telegraphed Mayor Rowell and lame-duck Governor James Gillette from Chicago: "Free Speech will be established in Fresno if it takes twenty years."<sup>41</sup> Gillette ignored this telegram, and Mayor Rowell assured the public that the city trustees would adopt an anti-street speaking ordinance at their next meeting.

Public reaction to the evening's debacle was mixed. The *Morning Republican*, refusing sympathy to the Wobblies, declared that the mob's action was a disgrace to Fresno, citing their commission of four penal code felonies and one misdemeanor. On the other hand, Charles McClatchy, the Progressive editor of the bitterly anti-IWW *Sacramento Bee*, commented: "When the good citizens and the authorities of any city countenance such outrages as those committed by the Fresno mob, the IWW may be said to shine by comparison." In the same vein, the *San Francisco Star*, the moderate weekly voice of single-taxer John Barry, "respectfully suggest[ed] to the reputable element of Fresno that the most lawless and dangerous element of the community is not included on the membership rolls of the [IWW]." On the opposite side, two conservative Republican papers, M. C. Chapman's *Oakland Tribune* and Michael De Young's *San Francisco Chronicle*, endorsed the action as ending the IWW's "agitation" in the Valley.<sup>42</sup>



In response to the violence of December 9, Little established temporary headquarters outside the southern Fresno County town of Kingsburg. As in Fresno, however, they were unwelcome. On December 20 all eight members of the city board of trustees voted to enact an antistreet speaking ordinance which read: "It shall be and is hereby made unlawful for any person to hold, conduct, or address any assemblage, meeting or gathering of persons, or to make or deliver any public speech, lecture or discourse, or to conduct or take part in any public debate or discussion, in or upon any public park, public street or alley within [the 48-block area bounded by Tuolumne, M, Inyo, and D Streets]." <sup>43</sup>

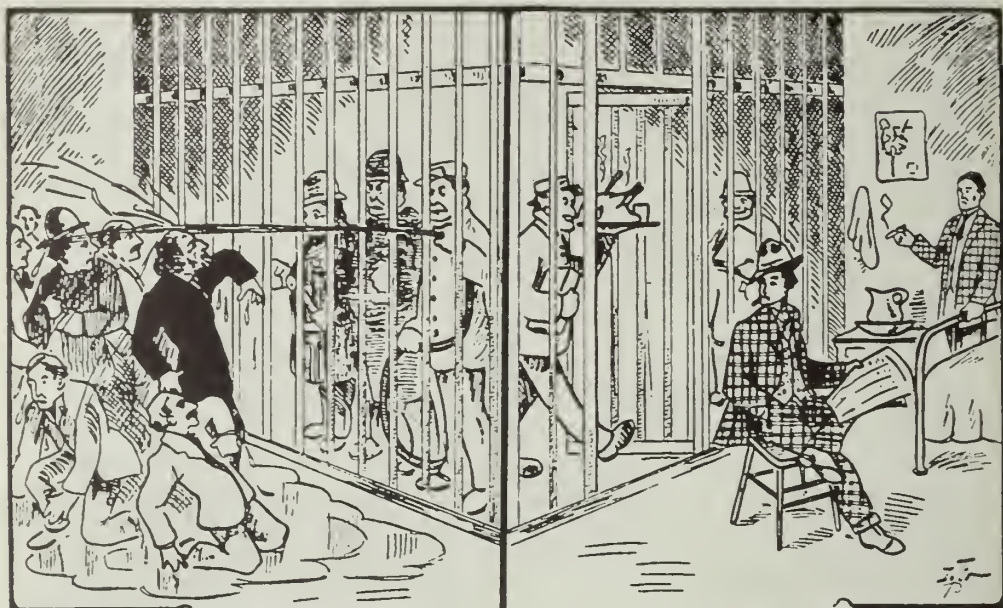
Despite the board's action it was difficult for Fresno to silence its tormentors. The jails continued to fill so that, within two days, there were eighty Wobblies behind bars. Further, they began shouting to an audience which had congregated outside the jail about their bread and water diet. The next day, after they refused to quiet down, the jailor called for fire engines to come and for their hoses to be turned full force on the singing, shouting prisoners. Shielding themselves with their mattresses, the Wobblies quieted down only when the water reached knee-level. <sup>44</sup> As a result of being forced to stand knee-deep in the icy water throughout the night, one of their leaders developed tonsilitis shortly after the New Year. <sup>45</sup> Although this was the third occasion for use of the "water cure," an historian of Fresno County has observed that "the strange thing in connection with this memorable water bombardment was that neither Mayor Rowell, nor Sheriff Chittenden, nor Fire Chief Ward knew who had given the orders [for it]." <sup>46</sup>

While some Wobblies broke and agreed to leave town after the event, most served their sentences and returned to their chosen corner of I and Mariposa streets upon release. Being re-arrested they each demanded a separate jury trial, conducted their own defense, and challenged as many prospective jurors as possible; rare was the day when more than three were sentenced in the courts. Lehmann, utilizing the county jail records, cites the arrest of four men, ages 23 to 45 with occupations ranging from blacksmith to sailor, on a typical day, January 12, 1911. <sup>47</sup> Naturally, aliases were frequently employed: John L. Sullivan (the world heavyweight boxing champion of the 1880's), Harrison Gray Otis (the labor-baiting and sour-tempered editor of the *Los Angeles Times*), and the ever-present John Doe all served sentences in the Fresno County Jail. <sup>48</sup> By February 12, the number of imprisoned Wobblies reached 100. <sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, the nation-wide march continued. From Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Denver hobo armies headed to Fresno. Over 150 Wobblies rode the rails from Portland to the California border, leaving the train to avoid the railroad police (who were responding to Rowell's criticism that they had not effectively halted the "invasion"). <sup>50</sup> From the border the Wobblies set out on foot, crossing the Siskiyou Mountains in a snow storm. Passing through various towns (Weed, Dunsmuir, Kennett, and Red Bluff) where they were frequently welcomed (except in Red Bluff), they proceeded to Chico, arriving there on March 5. <sup>51</sup>

In an interesting sidelight, while the Wobblies were marching on Fresno, the local ministers' organization protested that the new law, unlike that drafted by the Missoula and Spokane authorities, had unwittingly included proselytizers for Jesus in the same class as proselytizers for the IWW. The ministers insisted, un-

## The Constitution Guarantees Freedom of Speech. RATS!



Water Cure for Workers

Turkey for Pimps

*The news of the use of fire hoses against Wobblies imprisoned for street-speaking elicited this strong cartoon from the Industrial Worker in its December 8, 1910, issue.*

successfully, that the law be modified to allow religious groups to use the streets. However, their second suggestion—the construction of a punitive rock pile in the jail yard—was acted on. Little scoffed at this plan by reminding his listeners that “in Spokane the city treasury suffered the most from the cost of replacing hundreds of broken hammer handles.”<sup>52</sup> A rock pile was nevertheless built with granite blocks hauled in from a quarry north of the city; the city authorities apparently were willing to replace broken hammer handles.<sup>53</sup>

Realizing, however, that the hobo army would soon invade staid Fresno and unable to break the Wobblies’ determination to win their right to free speech, on March 2 the municipal authorities suddenly rescinded the ban on street speaking and agreed to release all of the Wobbly prisoners. The invasion thus halted at Chico, Little wired Chicago, “Complete Victory!,” and many of the Wobblies left for Los Angeles, forgoing, it may be seen in retrospect, the opportunity to create an effective labor organization in Fresno.

As the *San Francisco Call*, the newspaper of the Republican sugar-king John Spreckels, commented, the hobo army “is one of those strange situations which crop up suddenly and are hard to understand. Some thousands of men, whose business it is to work with their hands, tramping and stealing rides, suffering

hardships and facing dangers—to get into jail. And to get into that one particular jail in a town of which they have never heard before, in which they have no direct interest.” On the other hand, the equally Republican *Oakland Tribune* felt that “men out of employment are deserving of sympathy . . . but men who travel hundreds of miles merely to create disturbance and provoke a conflict with the officers of the law do not belong to the deserving class. They are a detriment to organized labor and a hindrance to the reforms . . . organized labor demands.”<sup>54</sup>

The *International Socialist Review*, however, saw the outcome in a different light:

“March 31st witnessed the surrender of the city of Fresno in the free speech fight to the fighting brigade of the Industrial Workers of the World. . . . The Fresno fight furnished a remarkable example of courage and determination on the part of the men engaged in the struggle. . . . Once more have the workers proven the efficacy of united working class action. Another victory for the militants of the labor movement of the United States—the third in a little over a year. Another step in the advance of the toilers to their own. May there be many more.”<sup>55</sup>

Attempts at other free speech confrontations there were, but scheduled battles in Oakland and Porterville in early 1911 did not get off the ground because of a curious lack of enthusiasm and the focusing of public attention on the bombing of the *Los Angeles Times* building. In February, 1912, the battle was carried to San Diego where it was waged for eight months with some bloodshed.<sup>56</sup> Occasional strikes and trials continued until 1924 in California, but, after the San Diego battle, California ceased to be the scene of any more Wobbly free speech fights.<sup>57</sup> In fact, by 1916, they had ended nationwide. Feeling that their organization was defending bourgeois rights without bourgeois assistance (if not outright opposition), the Wobblies abandoned the free speech arena. The fights, however, did demonstrate the Wobblies’ strong devotion to their cause and gave them an influence among unskilled labor out of all proportion to their card-carrying members.

Today, sixty years after the free speech fights have faded from public memory, historians debate whether or not the Wobblies were really concerned with the constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. One school of interpretation, led by Conlin, maintains that the Wobblies were consciously fighting for a constitutional right; another, including Dubofsky and Kornbluh, holds that the Wobblies looked upon the guarantees only as bourgeois rights reserved for the bourgeoisie who in turn denied these rights to the workers. A few historians, led by Renshaw, have taken a position between these two, concluding that the Wobblies were not fighting directly for a constitutional right though they were conscious of it; others, notably Brissenden and Thompson, ignore the question completely.<sup>58</sup>

The question of the Wobblies’ success is not so difficult to answer. The Fresno free speech fight won a certain degree of tolerance for the activities of the IWW and gained for that organization a status and importance among agricultural laborers far beyond its numerical significance. At the same time, however, agricultural regions, seemingly more prone to take alarm at any hint of radicalism or subversive action than more sophisticated metropolitan centers, viewed the activities of the IWW with increasing concern, especially since rural regions experienced more IWW-related conflicts than cities.



While the Criminal Syndicalism Act<sup>59</sup> of 1919 made membership in the IWW a felony in California and the state organization itself went into a comatose state after a national split over issues and tactics in 1924, the fight which the Wobblies waged for free speech was not forgotten; indeed, a local of the IWW was established in Berkeley in the aftermath of Mario Savio's Free Speech Movement. As fighters who continued an American fight originating with John Peter Zenger (and still occasionally waged in the Supreme Court), the Wobblies were commended by Roger Baldwin, a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, as those who

wrote a chapter in the history of American liberties like that of the struggle of the Quakers for freedom to meet and worship, of the militant suffragists to carry their propaganda to the seats of government, and of the Abolitionists to be heard. . . . Far more effective is this direct action of open conflict than all the legal maneuvers in the courts to get rights that no government willingly grants.<sup>60</sup>

But, hadn't he heard? Since 1849 the California constitution has assured Californians that "Every citizen may freely speak . . . his sentiments on all subjects . . . and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech." (To which the Wobblies understandably replied, "Rats!")<sup>61</sup>

THE CARTOONS on pages 100, 107, and 110 are from the *Industrial Worker*, February 2, 1911; October 1, 1910; and December 8, 1910. The photo on page 103 and the portrait of Rowell on page 107 are from the *Fresno County Centennial Almanac* (1956). The portrait of Frank Little on page 107 is reproduced from Joyce Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices* (Ann Arbor, 1964).

#### NOTES

1. California history surveys have not done the free speech fights justice: John Caughey, *California* (Prentice-Hall, 1953), Walton Bean, *California* (McGraw-Hill, 1968), and Ralph Roske, *Everyman's Eden* (Macmillan, 1968) each give the free speech fights two paragraphs; Robert Cleland, *California in Our Time* (Knopf, 1947) combines both fights in one paragraph; Andrew Rolle, *California* (Crowell, 1965) gives the fights a few sentences; W. H. Hutchinson, *California* (American West, 1969) does not mention them at all.

2. Woodrow Whitten, review of Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969), in *Pacific Historical Review*, 39 (August, 1970), p. 397. According to Dubofsky, the origin of the descriptive term "Wobbly," while uncertain, was probably derived from a Chinese restaurant owner in Alberta who served IWW's and responded to criticism by saying "Eye Like Eye Wobbly Wobbly." They were first called "Wobblies" in print by Harrison Gray Otis in his *Los Angeles Times*. See Stuart Holbrook, "Wobbly Talk," *American Mercury*, 8 (January, 1926), p. 62.

3. Preamble to the IWW Constitution, cited in Paul Brissenden, *The IWW: A Study of American Syndicalism* (2nd ed.; New York: Russell & Russell, 1957), Appendix II, p. 351. Originally published in 1919, this book is the classic history of the movement. It received favorable reviews from both the IWW and the national press.

4. Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, p. 128.

5. For a description of the IWW in the Northwest, see Robert Tyler, *Rebels of the Woods* (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1967). Brissenden lists the following locals in 1914: Brawley, Local 439, mixed in character; Eureka, 431, lumber; Fresno, 66, mixed; Los Angeles, 103 and Propaganda League, both mixed; Oakland, 174, mixed; Redding, 88 and 313, both mixed;

Sacramento, 71, 334, and 489, all mixed; San Francisco, 3, garments, 8, musicians, 9, marine transport, and 107, 147, 173, and 173 (Branch 2), all mixed; Stockton, 5, marine transport, and 73, mixed; and Taft, 453, mixed.

6. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 59. This pamphlet was written by Stuart Jamieson, then a lecturer in economics at the University of British Columbia.

7. U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Reports: 1915*, Vol. 5, p. 4945.

8. Labor Department, *Unionism in Agriculture*, p. 59; contrast this with Joseph Conlin, "The Case of the Very American Militants," *American West*, 7:2 (March, 1970), p. 7.

9. *Industrial Worker*, September 30, 1909.

10. Paul Mason, *California Constitution Annotated* (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney, 1953), vol. I, pp. 47-65. *In re May Thomas* is reported in 10 California Appellate Reports 375.

11. P. N. Beringer, "Fresno, the Paradise of the Industrious Man of Small Means," *Overland*, 52:12 (December, 1908), pp. 562-572; L. Teague, "The Fresno Vineyards," *Overland* (December, 1908), pp. 573-578; G. H. Rothe, "Fresno City and County," *Grizzly Bear*, 19:10 (June, 1916), pp. 14-15.

12. Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, p. 186. The *Fresno Morning Republican*, October 20, 1910, however, gives this honor to his brother, W. F. Little. In any case Frank Little was in Fresno in March, 1910, the same month the Spokane fight ended.

13. *Fresno Morning Republican*, April 17, 1910.

14. *Fresno Morning Republican*, April 19, 1910. Note: references to Rowell the publisher will not have him titled; references to the elder Rowell will include his title of Mayor.

15. *Fresno Morning Republican*, August 23, 1911; see also George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (1951; Chicago: Quadrangle, 1963), pp. 91-97.

16. *Oakland World*, December 31, 1910.

17. Ted Lehmann, "The Fresno Free Speech Fight" (Unpublished independent study; Fresno State College, 1971), p. 8.

18. *Fresno Morning Republican*, May 26, 1910.

19. *Fresno Morning Republican*, May 30, 1910.

20. *Fresno Morning Republican*, August 26, 1910, September 1, 1910.

21. *Industrial Worker*, September 10, 1910.

22. *Fresno Morning Republican*, September 3, 1910.

23. *Fresno Morning Republican*, September 9, 1910.

24. Lehmann, "Fresno Free Speech Fight," p. 12. California Penal Code Section 126 makes perjury a felony punishable by a minimum of one year in jail, while Penal Code Section 415 makes disturbing the peace a misdemeanor. The latter may entail a maximum prison sentence of 90 days—the punishment allotted to many of the Wobblies.

25. *Fresno Morning Republican*, September 7, 1910. Today, I Street is Broadway.

26. *Fresno Morning Republican*, September 27, 1910, September 30, 1910, October 4, 1910.

27. Lehmann, "Fresno Free Speech Fight," p. 13.

28. *Fresno Morning Republican*, October 13, 1910.

29. N.D. Cited in Joyce Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1964), p. 96.

30. *Fresno Morning Republican*, November 29, 1910.

31. Quoted in *Industrial Worker*, October 26, 1910.

32. *Fresno Morning Republican*, October 17, 1910.

33. *Fresno Morning Republican*, October 18, 1910.

34. Lehmann, "Fresno Free Speech Fight," pp. 18-19.

35. Interview, March 10, 1973; Pipkin, a retired barber and farmer, has lived in Fresno since 1899.

36. *Fresno Morning Republican*, October 19, 1910, November 3, 1910, November 5, 1910; Fresno Municipal Court (Police Court), records, October 24, 1910. See also IWW Constitution, Article VIII, section 1.

37. Lehmann, "Fresno Free Speech Fight," pp. 18-19.

38. *Fresno Morning Republican*, *Sacramento Bee*, *Oakland Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, all December 10, 1910; *San Francisco Star*, December 17, 1910 (editorial).

39. Interview, March 10, 1973 with Billy Mahoney, a former boxer, who has lived in Fresno since 1913. Nig Normart was a boxer and later assistant fire chief of Fresno. See also *Fresno Bee*, January 27, 1957.
40. Conversation, March 12, 1973.
41. Quoted in Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, p. 185. Gillette had not run for re-election in November, 1910, and would be succeeded by Hiram Johnson in January, 1911.
42. *Fresno Morning Republican*, *Sacramento Bee*, *Oakland Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, all December 10, 1910; *San Francisco Star*, December 17, 1910 (editorial).
43. Fresno City Ordinance 625, Section 2. Punishments were a fine of \$5 to \$40 and/or one to forty days in jail.
44. *Fresno Morning Republican*, December 24, 1910.
45. Ed Delaney and M. T. Rice, *The Bloodstained Trail* (n. pp., 1927), p. 57. *Fresno Morning Republican*, January 3, 1911.
46. *Fresno Morning Republican*, October 19, 1910, December 3, 1910. Paul Vandor, *History of Fresno County* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1919), p. 505.
47. Lehmann, "Fresno Free Speech Fight," p. 25.
48. Fresno County Jail Records, 1910.
49. *Fresno Morning Republican*, February 13, 1911.
50. *Fresno Morning Republican*, February 21, 1911.
51. *Solidarity*, April 8, 1911.
52. *Fresno Morning Republican*, February 14, 1911.
53. *Fresno Morning Republican*, February 18, 1911.
54. *San Francisco Call*, March 2, 1911 (editorial); *Oakland Tribune*, March 3, 1911 (editorial).
55. Press Committee, "Solidarity Wins in Fresno," *The International Socialist Review*, XI:10 (April, 1911).
56. Grace Miller, "The IWW Free Speech Fight: San Diego, 1912," *Southern California Quarterly*, LIV:3 (Fall, 1972), pp. 211-238.
57. Frank Bohn, "The Passing of the McNamaras," *International Socialist Review*, XII:1 (January, 1912); Peter Gerhard, "The Socialist Invasion of Baja California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XV:3 (September, 1946); Carleton Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920); Amy Oliver, "The Sacramento 'Trial,'" *One Big Union Monthly*, I (March, 1919); Martin Gendell, "Criminal Law," *California Law Review*, XIX (November, 1930); Woodrow Whitten, "Trial of Charlotte Anita Whitney," *Pacific Historical Review*, XV:3 (September, 1946); Nelson Van Allen, "The Bolsheviki and the Orange Groves," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXII:1 (February, 1953); Hymen Weintraub, "The IWW in California," unpublished ms. (University of California at Los Angeles, 1947).
58. Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, p. 173; Conlin, *Bread and Roses Too* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood, 1969), p. 74; Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices*, p. 94; Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies* (Garden City: Anchor, 1967), p. 84; Brissenden, *The IWW*, ch. 11; Fred Thompson, *The IWW—Its First Fifty Years* (Chicago: IWW, 1955).
59. Stats. 1919, ch. 188, p. 281; Penal Code Sections 11400-11402.
60. Quoted in Industrial Workers of the World, *Twenty Five Years of Industrial Unionism* (Chicago: IWW, 1930), p. 20.
61. California Constitution, Article I; Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices*, p. 109.



# The Loss of a Reputation; or, The Image of California in Britain Before 1875

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WHEN, IN 1858, THE PUBLICIST ERNEST SEYD addressed his British readers and proclaimed that "the principal thing now wanting to complete and perpetuate . . . [California's] prosperous state of things is an increase of population," he was making the obvious but fundamental point that no part of the undeveloped west of mid-nineteenth century America could hope to progress without a steady current of immigration. For, as he also pointed out, "with an increase of population, a proportionate increase of capital will always find profitable investment."<sup>1</sup> California, however, was only one of the new states which were searching for population in mid-century. Iowa, Colorado, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan went so far as to support state agencies which labored in the Old World to recruit immigrants.<sup>2</sup> Their promotional efforts were one of the two main ways by which a state could hope to attract population. The other was by force of reputation as an area of high opportunity. California never managed to mount a successful state immigration agency in the period under consideration, and it was, therefore, more at the mercy of its reputation than some other states.<sup>3</sup> Since one of the most important and valuable sources of California's population was Great Britain, its development was, thus, in part dependent on its image in the British Isles.<sup>4</sup> The object of the present study is California's reputation in Britain before 1875.

The meeting of capitalists that took place in San Francisco in April, 1857, indicates the early origin of concern about immigration to California. The group met to found an Immigrant Aid Association, a purpose which seven years before would have been considered an absurdity. At that time if there was any feeling on population growth, it was that it was proceeding too rapidly, at least as far as contingents from Australia and Latin America were concerned.<sup>5</sup> But attitudes had changed during the mid-1850's. California's growth rate had appeared to slow down, and the full promise of the early years of the gold rush seemed to be about to suffer final disappointment. Those who owned land and other resources, who stood to gain most from a steady population growth, were dismayed, and they sought to check the decline, realizing full well the important connection

between optimism and prosperity. The founders of the Immigrant Aid Association were men of this class who gathered to discuss the reasons for the falling off of expectations and to provide some remedies.

Meeting as the capitalists did in the aftermath of the 1856 vigilante movement, it is hardly surprising that they arrived at the diagnosis that they did. There was, in their view, one cause above all others for California's distress. The state, they felt, had acquired a reputation for lawlessness and, consequently, an image of insecurity which was repelling just those men and women it should have been attracting—those sober, industrious, family-minded immigrants on whose efforts the progress of societies depended. This situation, they resolved, should be changed. They would found an association dedicated to improving the image of California in the world, and they would begin immediately with a manifesto. The document must address itself, they ascertained, to the primary problem facing California and provide a defense against the dangers implicit in the popular idea that the state was afflicted with a rampant and pervasive lawlessness.

The resulting address to the public was a remarkable public relations effort. Acknowledging the unfortunate image of the state, it read: "Though murders, assassinations, and various crimes against the laws of God and man, have heretofore stained our annals, as they have the annals of every civilized people, yet by whom have these crimes been committed?" Not, it was to be understood, by the ordinary and upright men and women whom the state wanted as immigrants, but "by outlaws, such as are found all over the world." "Who, in the majority of cases," the defense went on to ask, "have been the victims?" Not the law-abiding, it answered, who were perfectly safe in California despite vicious rumor to the contrary, but "men of a dissipated course of life, who engendered their own destruction, and would have done so had they been dwellers in any other clime or country." The law-abiding immigrant had nothing to fear, the manifesto reassured, for "human life is as secure here as in the best regulated government in the world." The paper continued somewhat weakly that "if the contrary appears



*This 1849 drawing from the magazine Punch (v. 16, p. 64) illustrates the strongly ambivalent attitude of the British toward the supposed "golden" opportunities awaiting immigrants.*

true, it is only an appearance, arising from the fact that all the crimes of a vast territory extending over many degrees of latitude and longitude, are concentrated semi-monthly in one burning focus, and as a consequence, are grossly exaggerated in the public mind." Finally, the message of law and order was firmly, if grandiloquently, restated in the most convincing terms possible to the Victorian mind: "We reiterate our conviction that in no part of the world is the Christian Sabbath better observed, the sanctity of domestic life more honored, and intelligence, virtue and honorable dealing more respected, than in the Pacific States [*principally, California*] and Territories."<sup>6</sup>

It was almost a year later that Seyd's work, to which reference has already been made, appeared in London. The purpose of the book was to attract the attention of both British emigrants and capitalists to California, and it is therefore significant that the author felt impelled to deal, as the Immigrant Aid Association had done, with the state's reputation for lawlessness and insecurity. Seyd fully shared the association's view that it was the image of disorder that was standing in the way of solid growth and prosperity, and he applied this conclusion to his effort to increase the positive ties between the British and California. The clearcut message of his promotional effort was that "California's present position offers to both the emigrant and the capitalist better prospects of success than any country in the world" and the corollary that "the reports of murders, gambling, and other vices, and of the lawlessness reigning amongst us, have undoubtedly prejudiced the minds of many really intelligent and educated persons, and created the impression of a general insecurity of life and property in this state, deterring many from investing capital among us."<sup>7</sup> But, unlike the association, Seyd was confident that the worst was over and that California was well on the road to recovery, having been saved by the 1856 "Vigilance Committee," which he, unlike some later historians, had no doubt had "conducted itself in a manner reflecting the highest honor upon its members," the consequence being that "California is now enjoying the great benefits of this well-timed and judicious movement, courageously entered upon, and unflinchingly persevered in," so that the state "at the present moment enjoys the most profound peace." Order and prosperity reign, he continued, "justice is duly administered, and very few murders and acts of violence have occurred since the above mentioned reform movement."<sup>8</sup> Altogether, California would "promote much more surely and satisfactorily" than other states "the accomplishment of the end and aim of all emigration—the amelioration of the moral, social, and physical condition of the immigrant and his family."<sup>9</sup>

It may fairly be said that Seyd, no pun intended, did not succeed. A reviewer of his book for the *Edinburgh Journal* evidenced the British reader's unwillingness to concede that California's days of disorder were over. The state, he remarked, was "by no means 'progressing' in the ratio which was at first expected," and, for himself, he preferred Victoria as a destination for British emigrants, where, in contrast to California, order and growth were advancing hand in hand.<sup>10</sup>

In London, *The Times*, which had never been very impressed by the idea of British emigration to California, did manage a few friendly remarks on Seyd's work in May, 1858. The paper's "Own Correspondent" in San Francisco was permitted to write that "laboring men and mechanics, with the ability and will to work will vastly improve their pecuniary condition, and in some (not all) respects



add to their domestic comforts by emigrating to California. The same remark," he continued, "will apply with equal force to the practical shepherd without any other capital than his skill, and to all young women who have strength to work or good looks to recommend them to husbands."<sup>11</sup> But these qualifiedly favorable remarks were the exception rather than the rule in *The Times* and in other writings on the state. The image of California remained unsatisfactory for at least another decade in Britain. In 1861, for instance, it was remarked that "a good deal that is evil has been said, and is still thought about California."<sup>12</sup> In 1869 the Reverend Todd took it for granted that readers of his book would require an explanation of the prevalent disorder in California and ventured an essay in social pathology. He put the peculiar atmosphere of the state down to "the natural result of an unnatural state of society, the unnatural creation of property," which had produced a people "nervous, active, excited, wanting and determining to make money fast, ready to speculate, to run risks, and [who] expect to fall and rise, and rise and fall. If they don't speculate in mines, they are tempted to do so in stocks, in real estate, and in anything that gives them an opportunity."<sup>13</sup> Another British visitor gave a different diagnosis, finding the root of the disease somewhat surprisingly in "the almost perfect climate" which produced "a great temptation to overwork, . . . [as] there is," he said, "no absolute necessity for rest as there is in the hot summer months of the Eastern States. Consequently it is said that people die suddenly and that insanity is very prevalent."<sup>14</sup> All in all, another British visitor said, before the civilizing effect of the transcontinental railroad, California "was regarded as teeming with gold and abounding in iniquity; a paradise for paupers and a refuge for the scum of the earth."<sup>15</sup>

With such ideas about California current in Britain it is no wonder that when a body of private citizens did found an agency to attract immigrants to the state, after two years' work it was only able to claim a gain of ten direct arrivals from England, though it also claimed a gain of 882 Australians and 312 settlers from British Columbia.<sup>16</sup> Naturally, part of the failure was due to California's distance from sources of population in the East and in Britain and to the consequent hazards and expenses of crossing an ocean and a continent. The agency could claim a small propaganda victory in that at least the writings of two observers of the emigrant scene reflected its views.<sup>17</sup> But, in general, the British view of California resembled that of the easterner to whom it was said the state represented "a land of big beets and pumkins, of rough miners, of pistols, bowieknives, abundant fruits, queer wines, high prices—full of discomforts and abounding in dangers to the peaceful traveler."<sup>18</sup>

Clearly, the battle for California's reputation which the Immigrant Aid Association had hoped to win in 1857 had not been won by 1875. To be answered are the following questions: when was the negative attitude towards California solidified in Britain and why was the mind-set so great that it proved irreversible for at least two decades. In a nutshell, the evidence points to the years 1849–1855 and to the creation at that time of the unshakeable idea that the gold rush had brought about a permanently unstable society in the state.

Before 1849 California's reputation in Britain was almost unblemished. The area first came into British consciousness at the end of the eighteenth century through the accounts of travelers who gave it a virtually paradisaical character.

George Vancouver, for instance, who visited California on three occasions while forwarding British interests in the Nootka Sound controversy, remarked that California's climate had "the reputation of being as healthy as any part of the known world." At first he was less confident about the quality of the soil, saying "None seemed to be naturally steril, although it presented that outward appearance," but later he changed his mind so far as to speak positively of the "fertility of the soil [that] seems to exist with little variation through the plains and vallies of the interior country, extending in some places to the water's edge on the sea coast."<sup>20</sup>

Forty years later, Dr. Thomas Coulter, traveling from Monterey to the junction of the Colorado and Gila rivers, while less sure of Southern California, remarked that the neighborhood of San Francisco Bay was "perfectly healthy."<sup>21</sup> In 1839 the climate of California was praised as one of the reasons why the region was "in the list of those countries which have always been most prized by mankind."<sup>22</sup> The soil won accolades from yet another British visitor who wrote that "the productive nature of the soil, when it has been turned up by the missions, and the immense plains of meadow land . . . show with how little trouble it might be brought into high cultivation by any farmers who could be induced to settle there."<sup>23</sup> Coulter had been less extravagant in his praise of the soil and more accurate in his assessments, but even he had spoken of "the country north and east of the Tule lakes" as "fertile, well-wooded and watered."<sup>24</sup>

Then, as Mexico's grip on the area weakened during the 1840's and contemporary events in the Far East following on the Opium War led to the opening of Chinese ports to western commerce, another dimension was added to California's reputation. Increasingly the accent was placed upon its strategic and commercial advantages. Vancouver and Beechey had already noticed the magnificence of San Francisco's harbor,<sup>25</sup> when, in 1839, Forbes, voicing his dream of a British colonization of California to liquidate the Mexican debt to British bondholders, wrote longingly of California's potential in the right hands. In the possession of Britain "or any other commercial and enterprising nation," he believed, it could already have "rivalled Asia."<sup>26</sup> Sir George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company also tried to raise British interest in the strategic possibilities of the area, but beyond further flattering it he had no success.<sup>27</sup> By the time his book came out in 1847, California had been conquered by the Americans, so that any opportunity of Britain acquiring this remote Garden of Eden had been lost. Nevertheless, the idea that California was a highly attractive place and would be a valuable acquisition for British government and settler alike had so far developed by the 1840's that it caused Americans to fear annexation by Britain and Britons to seek clarification of British government policy in Parliament.<sup>28</sup>

It would be wrong to deny, however, that there were some British doubts about California. One reviewer of Forbes' 1839 work made his criticisms seem general when he remarked, "California, we need hardly inform our readers is a remote, rebellious, ill-peopled, and ill-organized province of Mexico," but he himself modified the full effect of these words by adding, "Notwithstanding its political disadvantages, . . . California, in its northern half, displays not in vain the temptations of a good soil and climate."<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the general view from Britain of California on the eve of the American conquest was rather that "there



## A REGULAR GOLD DUSTMAN.

"HOLLO! WHERE ARE YOU OFF TO NOW?"

"OH! I AIN'T A GOING TO STOP HERE, LOOKING FOR TEASTOONS IN CINDERS. I'M OFF TO KALLIFORNIER VERE THERE'S HEATS O' GOLD DUST TO BE HAD FOR THE SWEEPIN'."

*In 1849 Punch (v. 16, p. 17) poked fun at the naiveté and unpreparedness of misled gold-seekers who flocked to California seeking easily-won riches.*



is no country in the world that offers as flattering inducements to immigrants as Upper California; nor is there a country . . . on the face of the globe, so eminently calculated by nature herself to promote the prosperity and happiness of civilized and enlightened man."<sup>30</sup> After making allowance for the inflation in the language common to all tracts promoting emigration, be it to Uruguay or to the Cape of Good Hope, the impression is true that a favorable view of California was held in Britain, one which could support the case for emigration.

One aspect of the state's later reputation was lacking in this period; there was little realization of the mineral wealth that was to give California the title of the modern El Dorado. Vancouver wrote that he "did not find that New Albion had yet been supposed to contain any valuable minerals, nor is California considered much richer in that respect."<sup>31</sup> Coulter said that whereas "Lower California is pretty rich in minerals . . . in Upper California" he knew "of no place where . . . [such had] been found, except to the eastward of Santa Ynez, where a small silver mine was successfully wrought for some time, till the owners were killed by the Indians; and in one of the streams falling into the southern Tule lake some gold has also been found by the beaver hunters, but as yet in very small quantity."<sup>32</sup> The British visitor who found California distasteful due to the high prices and limited range of its products and who wrote, "It was with little regret, and no idea of the hidden treasures since discovered, that the anchor was weighed, and we under sail for the Sandwich Islands,"<sup>33</sup> gave the rueful opinion of one, who like the whole British nation, must have wished he had had clearer vision.

Despite the presumed lack of mineral wealth, it is clear that California's agricultural potential was sufficiently attractive to British writers. Theoretically, therefore, the discovery of gold should have raised the area to an unchallengeable primacy among emigrant destinations, but in point of fact it did the reverse. There is no paradox here. Those who controlled the image of California in Britain, those whose works came out in the years 1849-1855, did not translate gold into social and economic opportunity for the prospective emigrant. On the contrary they argued that it meant a disordered and feverish society in which the sober could not hope for steady advance. They thus provided California with the repellent image against which both the Immigrant Aid Association and Seyd protested.

The multitude of works that compromised California in Britain in the years 1849-1855 were epitomized by a book which was a fraud from beginning to end, but which was one of the most highly regarded of all the accounts of the gold rush at the time. This was Henry Vizetelly's *Four Months Among The Gold-Finders in Alta California*, which he published under the pseudonym of J. Tyrwhit Brooks, M.D., in 1849.<sup>34</sup> Though Vizetelly occasionally remarked on some of California's more attractive qualities, like the fertility of the soil,<sup>35</sup> he laid his emphasis on the widely prevalent disease, lawlessness, and Indian trouble.<sup>36</sup> The work ended on a note of pessimism, as Vizetelly argued that the lack of government in California was ensuring that "as the number of diggers and miners augmented, robberies and violence became frequent."<sup>37</sup> Vizetelly also made out that he left the mines as poor as when he arrived. Reviewers unfriendly to California seized on this point and made much of the fact that California was the kind of place that did not live up to its promises.<sup>38</sup> Despite the fraudulence of Vizetelly's work—he wrote the book in ten days, never having left London—it is not unim-

portant. Vizetelly copied his ideas from individuals who had been to California (including John C. Frémont and Colonel Richard Mason), and his role was therefore to give wider currency to their ideas. He did not invent his low opinion of the pandemonium on the Pacific. Nor was he alone in it.

Two works by American authors published in Britain in 1850 continued the tales of lawlessness. William R. Ryan's study was particularly full in its second volume of stories of murders, lynchings, floggings, physical exhaustion, gambling, and a general absence of moral and legal restraint.<sup>39</sup> Only the most diligent reader would have noticed that in passing Ryan called the climate of California "the healthiest in the world." The majority would rather have noticed his final remarks that those returning from California were diseased in some way.<sup>40</sup> The second work, by Bayard Taylor, was revealingly and strikingly called *El Dorado: Or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* and was, as its title suggested, akin to an adventure story. Gambling, fighting, disease, and severe weather were featured. Taylor's final view was that Californian society was basically sound, vigorous, and progressive and that the versatile immigrant was sure to succeed there, but he put this message into his last six pages where its effect was swamped by stories which perforce, as a writer of an adventure tale, he included in the first part of the book.<sup>41</sup>

Three works published in England in 1851 by British authors continued to add unflattering details to the picture of California. The Irishman William Kelly did the state a grave disservice by calling even its agricultural possibilities into doubt. "The soil," he said, was admittedly "of an unsurpassing quality . . . capable of producing any crop," but it had to face "the adverse operation of the seasons, which keep it saturated, and in most places submerged in water, from November until April and then before July it is so baked and cracked under a hot and cloudless sun, that not only is all further vegetation arrested, but everything above ground is crisped, and ready to fall into powder at the touch; while the streams that might be supposed available for irrigation are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, completely dry." Consequently, "California must ever be mainly dependent on the States, Oregon, Chili and the Sandwich Islands, for its supply of breadstuffs and the other great vegetable staples of existence; as to the climate, there is only one opinion amongst the people now resident there; which is, that it is highly unhealthy."<sup>42</sup> Altogether, he could hardly have been more damning, or wrong.

William Shaw went to California from Australia and continued the story of the "demoralizing effects of the gold mania."<sup>43</sup> He wrote very fully of the lawlessness, illness, Indian troubles, lynch law, incessant rain, and lack of steady employment that he met with and expected that all visitors, like himself, would leave California without regret.<sup>44</sup> Edward Lucatt also landed from the Pacific but only stayed a short time. Surprisingly, he spoke of the great order that obtained in the mines in the early days when men safely left their watches hanging on trees;<sup>45</sup> but he emphasized the dangers and disadvantages of California life, starting with the heat, continuing through poisonous night-dews, fever, ague, scurvy and "a leprous breaking out of the body," running on through high prices, high rents, and gambling, the lack of friendliness, secure markets, and honor among contractors, and ended with the inevitable, from the author's point of view, crowds waiting to leave.<sup>46</sup>

The title of an anonymous work of this period indicates that Shaw, Lucatt, and the unknown author shared a prevailing view of California. Whoever produced *The California Hoax in which are contrasted the good and bad effects to be derived from a voyage to California; showing the deprivation to be endured, with the utter impossibility of obtaining food, in the Golden Region* implied that only the senile peasantry of Carmarthenshire, who were preparing to leave for California and whose ages ranged from seventy to ninety, would be mad enough to consider such a destination.<sup>47</sup>

The year 1853 saw no slackening of the attacks on California's reputation. Frederick Gerstaecker's *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* was translated and published in London. The section recalling his visit to California stressed failure in the mines, lack of respect for mining property, fires, floods, gambling, and general lawlessness.<sup>48</sup> Gerstaecker concluded ominously that social anarchy and the lack of family life were likely to be permanent and that disorder was waxing, not waning, with the passage of time.<sup>49</sup> Two years later, Frank Marryat's *Mountains and Molehills* added its disturbing quota of detail to the general story of drink, gambling, shootings, thefts, fire, and lynch law. Society, Marryat said, was so disordered in California that it was "prudent to look on every man as a rogue until you know him to be honest." The last section of the book did speak of the ways in which California was settling down, but it was dominated by the section which had gone before.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, these works and others like Henry Coke's *A Ride Over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California* and Walter Brodie's *Pitcairn's Island . . . with a few hints on California*<sup>51</sup> overshadowed books more friendly to California like Alexander Mackay's *The Western World* and John D. Borthwick's *Three Years in California*.<sup>52</sup> Borthwick's failure to alter the image of California despite having written a very good book is significant. He unfortunately published his work in 1857 by which time the stereotype of California as a land of lawlessness was too firmly fixed to be shaken.

Part of the difficulty for propagandists wishing to promote a different image of California in the years immediately after 1849, of course, lay in the fact that the kind of writing that could have presented the state as the realization of the pioneer farmer's dream was so dull that it must necessarily have suffered by comparison with that which concentrated on lynchings, highwaymen, or gambling saloons. It was both easier and more profitable, since it made the book sell more copies, to write about the present and horrific disorder than to predict future developments. At the same time lack of reliable detailed knowledge in 1849 made it hard to write more than that "the surface of California, being much broken by rocky mountains, contains not a very large proportion of arable land, but where the soil is arable it is usually rich," or that "the climate of Upper California is said to be very salubrious. The winter is much milder than in the countries on the eastern coast which lie in the same latitude. There are only two seasons: the rainy season, which is winter: and the dry season, which is summer."<sup>53</sup>

It would be incorrect to deny that some of the literature on California published in Britain at the time did try to take the offensive on the state's behalf. But its countervailing attempts were very feeble. The writer who advised "all who have the means . . . [to] go there, for we are convinced they will be in a position to found happiness for themselves and children," and he who judged that "as far



as climate, productions, extent, political and commercial position, and association with any native tribes are concerned in rendering a spot fit for emigration, Upper California is at least as highly favored as any part of the Pacific coast of America"<sup>54</sup> were doing their best, but their writing was remaining at the general level of the days before 1849. That kind of general remark was sufficient in the early days, but since then California had ceased to be remote and undistinguished. It now had the reputation for certain characteristics and if its name was to be properly defended, then some discussion of these traits was necessary.

The most satisfactory of the works that came out with a favorable report on emigration to California in 1849, *California: Its Past History; Its Present Position; Its Future Prospects* did try to grapple with the problem. It emphasized that "the political institutions established . . . are in the highest degree favorable to freedom of individual action, and to the maintenance of such laws and institutions as are in consonance with the wants, the feelings, and the interests of the whole people."<sup>55</sup> The writer argued that gold and lawlessness were bound to be but temporary phenomena and argued that "when the gold fever has ceased . . . the most profitable occupation will be the development of the immense and varied agricultural and productive resources of the country." Agriculture, not gold hunting, he predicted, "will probably be the destination of the large proportion of emigrants."<sup>56</sup> Such realism, however, was rare, and it went unheeded by readers.

Men and women in Britain in 1849 were fed rather on images of a different kind. They were warned against emigration to a land of chaos. In January, 1849, for instance, before any real evidence was available on conditions in California, the *Illustrated London News* was taking the line that "though a land of gold be good, a land of food, clothing and security is good also."<sup>57</sup> In March, 1849, a provincial paper, the *Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald*—because of its insignificance likely to be quoting the general viewpoint—commented that "it is the opinion of all well thinking men that the more money will be spent in seeking for gold than the value of the precious metal which will be found by the adventurers, in addition to the risk and toil of life by those who venture among the diggers."<sup>58</sup> Over two years later the same paper was still reiterating its point, if more humorously, reporting that a Californian's clothing could be described as follows: "His pantaloons are made out of rag carpet, whilst his overcoat consists of a cellar door, with straps on either side for armholes." The typical Californian, it continued, fed "on artificial spawn—fog sweetened with molasses."<sup>59</sup> To residents of Plymouth in 1851, California was synonymous with destitution.

At the other end of the scale of journalistic significance, *The Times* was at first not unfavorable to goldhunting and emigration to California, but the great molder of opinion soon reversed itself. Reviewing the matter in the light of "Brooks"-Vizetelly's work, it found that if there was a moral in the gold rush it was that the English should "stay in England and work."<sup>60</sup> By July, 1849, its hostility had been solidified by news of fresh disorders in California, and it proclaimed that "the details of the doings and the mode of life at Panama and at San Francisco, together with the extravagant prices to be paid for the most trifling articles and services, and the inconveniences and sufferings to be expected, are amply sufficient to deter any Englishman with a moderate competence from trying his fortune in the far west."<sup>61</sup>

*The Athenaeum*, another British molder of opinion, published its review of Brooks' account of California with an accent on the "lawless and savage spirit" in the mines,<sup>62</sup> and in July, 1849, its view was that "California is now under the code of Draco. Every crime is punished with death: murder, assault, theft, all offenses are treated as of equal magnitude," while "to the native and foreigner, [the American] colonists observe no law."<sup>63</sup> *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* also spoke of "the terrific amount of crime and immorality of which the new American state has been the constant scene, up to the date of the most recent advices."<sup>64</sup> Ignored in Great Britain was the more restrained and judicious comment of the *West Briton* that whereas California was no "Eden," it was "a spot where, with enduring patience and continued perseverance, a position may be attained which, if not immediately productive of wealth by fresh and more important discoveries, will at least give scope to talent and industry, and assure a return for capital in whatever direction it may be laid out."<sup>65</sup> *Punch* commented pithily: "The ultimate effect of the discovery of the Diggings" would be "to raise prices, to ruin fools, to demoralize a new country first, and settle it afterwards."<sup>66</sup>

It is important to grasp the full size of the impact made on the British consciousness by the gold rush, especially in its first years, because it was the magnitude of the excitement which ensured that any image of California formed then would endure. Created at white heat, it was not to be remolded in less combustible days. There is no doubt that the size of the impact of the news of the gold discoveries could hardly have been greater. *The Athenaeum* even went as far as to say that "after all," it was "becoming doubtful if the wondrous '1848' will be known in history as the 'year of revolutions'." The periodical suggested it was more likely to be recalled as the year of gold.<sup>67</sup> Or, as a guide to the diggings more fancifully, but revealingly, put it:

During these fearful convulsions which have agitated the continent of Europe in the course of the past year, prostrating thrones and principalities in the dust, and threatening the very dissolution of society into its primitive elements . . . [John Bull] exhibited an aspect of imperturbable tranquility which excited Universal astonishment and admiration. No sooner, however, does Jonathan touch him with his golden wand, than his whole frame becomes tremblingly alive; his wonted adventurous spirit returns to him, and he already fancies himself freighting his rich galleon in the bay of San Francisco.<sup>68</sup>

Few were untouched by the excitement or able to ignore it. Businessmen advertised goods supposedly specially suited to life in the mines. Poets, songwriters, and novelists found they had a new and best-selling theme.<sup>69</sup> Political economists discussed the discoveries' effects on the international monetary system. Medical men thought about the medical effects of life in the mines.<sup>70</sup> The following extract from the *Liverpool Standard*, reprinted by *The Times*, clearly reveals the level of the popular desire for any news about the gold regions: "There is at present to be seen at the Earl of Derby's estate at Knowsley, a considerable quantity of gold dust embedded in soil which has been brought from California along with some trees and plants."<sup>71</sup> Even trivia seemed important by association with the magic idea of a real El Dorado.

What all this meant is the theme of this article. The image of a lawless, dangerous, insecure society which was so sharply and indelibly defined in these years frightened away immigrants. The professional givers of advice on the subject of



*Mocking the California craze of 1849, Punch (v. 16, p. 20) characterized the Argonauts as rowdy, greedy, inefficient, and a bit silly.*

emigration connected lawlessness and failure and warned that California was quite the wrong destination for the aspirant emigrating classes. Some were explicitly condemnatory. One wrote that he would admit "California has a good climate and soil, admirably adapted for cattle, and not unsuited to cereals," but, he went on,

It is notoriously the region of gold, and also of that most desperate of all classes of men, gold finders. To the bold and intrepid, to all who are imbued with the spirit of adventure, to that frame of mind which is essentially gipsy, Kalmuck, and Arabian in its desire for a wandering and restless life, these regions offer the inducement of a climate which admits of constantly living in the open air, of productiveness which renders rough subsistence easy with little labour, and of the chances of getting rapidly rich by the lucky acquisition of the precious metal.

It was not the place for the sober immigrant, but "the destination only of men of desperate fortunes, and . . . a certain source of unhappiness to all persons of orderly, industrious, prudent, and virtuous habits."<sup>72</sup> Another writer was equally as damning in omitting California from "The Best Parts of America To Go To."<sup>73</sup> About the best that was allowed was that "the settler with a small capital may do well in some of the rising towns as a storekeeper, or in the country parts as a farmer or grazier," but he would not do "so well as he would be likely to do in a British colony."<sup>74</sup> Well might Borthwick write that California's principal products were believed to be "rats, fleas, empty bottles and old clothes."<sup>75</sup> Certainly, British capitalists were loath to invest their money in the state,<sup>76</sup> reacting to the same adverse images as the prospective immigrants.

It is conceivable that if British capitalists had possessed a faith in the investment possibilities of California, they might have done something to try to counter the negative images of California held in Britain. But by a stroke of ill-fortune for the state, the gold rush had disenchanted them as it had done so many British visitors. One reason for this lay in the failure of the British investments in quartz mining, which was publicized by the Allsop brothers. Thomas Allsop went out to look



at the possibilities in person and carried out a thorough investigation which led him to the conclusion "after an examination of more than three hundred ledges, in the richest and most productive part of California," that whereas placer mining was returning a 400 per cent profit, quartz mining led to a loss of 80 per cent of initial capital invested.<sup>77</sup> The failure of all the companies floated in London bore out his reasoning and explained the capitalists' disinterest in California against which Seyd was raising his voice in 1858.

California has always relied on its reputation as a land of superior quality to attract population. It has been rightly said that its growth "owes much to travelers' published narratives, both domestic and foreign."<sup>78</sup> But it is arguable that it was not until the 1880's that the state was sufficiently ordered to present an unchallengeable image of burgeoning, assured progress. Before that date the general opinion, at least in Britain, was that there were far preferable destinations for the man who was looking for a new home for himself and his family. It is, thus, further arguable that published narratives could also impede growth, and

*In the face of negative public opinion, would-be British Californians could turn to The Times' want-ads, such as this portion from the February 28, 1849, issue, to be titillated by venturesome individuals seeking companions, sales, and capital.*

**CALIFORNIA.—To Merchants, Manufacturers and Tradesmen.**—The advertiser, who has been many years engaged in commercial transactions, being about to proceed to San Francisco to establish himself as general merchant and commercial agent, is ready to PURCHASE, or receive on consignment, GOODS of every description suitable for that market. Address, pre-paid, to S. C., care of Messrs. Woollett and Nephew, shipbrokers, 1, Lime-street-square.

**CALIFORNIA.—COOKE, BAKER, and Co.,** shipping and commission merchants, San Francisco, Upper California, will be happy to attend to the SALE of any GOODS or PRODUCE consigned to their care, and shippers may rely on prompt sales and returns. References:—Messrs. Barnard, Curtis, and Co., and W. L. Baker, Esq., New York; E. D. Brigham and Co., Boston; Lemuel Goddard, Esq., 6, Crescent, Minorics, London, who will attend to the shipment of any goods consigned to C., B., and Co.

**CALIFORNIA.**—A gentleman, who is proceeding to San Francisco with a cargo of goods to establish a store there, is desirous to meet with a suitable companion as an ASSISTANT. He must have had considerable experience in business, and it would be desirable he should have some capital, say from \$300 to £1,000, to invest and take a moderate share in the profits. If he has a knowledge of dry goods it would be considered an advantage. Character and connexions must bear the strictest investigation, as will the advertiser's; and to save trouble it is requested that the names of referees may be given with any application. Address, pre-paid, to O. P. Q., Mr. Hooper's advertising office, 5, Thavies-inn, Holborn.

**CALIFORNIA and the GOLD REGIONS.**—As it appears from the most recent accounts that manual labour is still only to be procured in the gold district at such an enormous rate as to consume all the profits of the speculation, the attention of emigrants and shippers is requested to a PATENT ORE-WASHING MACHINE, which has been used for a considerable time in England with the greatest success, and by which a boy can do as much work as six men. Full particulars and much valuable information on the subject will be given to actual purchasers on application to Mr. W. K. Whythead, consulting engineer, 3, Sberborne lane, city.

**CALIFORNIA.**—Caution.—The undersigned having ascertained that GALVANIZED METAL has lately been shipped by various parties to California, without application to or license from them, hereby give notice, that they or their appointed agents have the exclusive right to import, sell, or manufacture galvanized metal of any description, in California or any part of the United States, and that any such metal shipped without their consent or license in writing will be stopped on its arrival, and the importers will subject themselves to heavy penalties. Any parties desirous of shipping this material, which is admirably adapted for the construction and roofing of warehouses, dwellings, and other purposes, in California or elsewhere, for which iron not subject to rust is required, will please apply by letter or otherwise to MOREWOOD and ROGERS, patentees of the galvanized tinued iron, Steel-yard-wharf, Upper Thames-street, London.

**FOR CALIFORNIA.—LAYCOCK'S PORTABLE** IRON-FRAMED and FIRE-PROOF HOUSES, consisting of two rooms and one large store, which can be set up in two days by two ordinary men. Price moderate.—39, Old Hall-street, Liverpool.

**EMIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA.—BENJAMIN** EDGINGTON, 2, Duke-street, Southwark, London-bridge, invites settlers to inspect his EMIGRATION TENTS, which are fitted up with every requisite at a moderate cost. May be seen any day at his manufactory, 2, Duke street, Southwark, one being purposely erected, with cot, sling, table, and camp stool complete. A warehouse, 208, Piccadilly.

that insofar as California's growth in the mid-nineteenth century depended on injections of British labor and capital, they did just that. When the census of 1860 disclosed that there was a greater number of violent deaths per capita of the population in California than in any other state except Texas, and when the census of 1870 revealed a marked decrease in the growth rate of California's population, there were those who connected the two sets of statistics.<sup>79</sup> The Immigrant Aid Association and Ernest Seyd did so long before the two censuses were taken. British immigrants recoiled from the events creating the first set of statistics and their reaction did much to ensure that the second set of statistics came about. California discovered in the process that while publicity can aid an image, it can also often harm it.

## NOTES

1. Ernest Seyd, *California and Its Resources* (London, 1858), 18.
2. Merle Curti and Kendall Barr, "The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe, 1860-1914," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 37:205-07 (1950-1951).
3. The unsuccessful attempts of the legislators who wanted a state-supported immigration agency can be followed in California, *Journal of the Senate*, Eighteenth Session (Sacramento, 1870), pp. 396, 574, 627, and in *Journal of the Assembly*, Eighteenth Session (Sacramento, 1870), p. 440 and in *Journal of the Senate*, Nineteenth Session (Sacramento, 1872), pp. 265, 820. The story of the nearest thing to an immigrant agency which the state ever established can be followed in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Protection of Emigrants to California* (New York, 1860), in *Appendix to the Journals of the Assembly in California*, Twelfth Session (Sacramento, 1861). This body only produced one report in its lifetime and was not a success, in part, because the commissioner was not granted a salary by the legislature.
4. The number of British-born and of other foreign-born groups in California in 1870 will be found in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1872), 1:345-377.
5. See Leonard Pitt, "The Beginnings of Nativism in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 30: 23-38 (1961).
6. *Address of the Pacific Immigrant Aid Association of California* (San Francisco, 1857); *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, April 19, 1857.
7. Seyd, *California*, 20-21.
8. *Ibid.*, 23, 24.
9. *Ibid.*, 138.
10. *The Edinburgh Journal* (1858), p. 318.
11. *The Times*, May 28, 1858.
12. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake-City* (2 vols., London, 1861), 2:516.
13. John Todd, *The Sunset Land; or, The Great Pacific Slope* (London, 1869), 66-67.
14. *Reminiscences of America in 1869, by Two Englishmen* (London, 1870), 283.
15. J. G. Player-Frowd, *Six Months in California* (London, 1872), 1.
16. *Memorial and Report of the California Immigrant Union to the Legislature of the State of California* (Sacramento, 1872), 23.
17. See Robert M. Brereton, *Project for Middle and Yeoman Class Colonies for California* (London, n.d.); and Stephen Byrne, *Irish Emigration to the United States, What It Has Been and What It Is* (New York, 1873), especially pp. 144ff.
18. Charles Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence* (New York, 1872), 18.
19. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* (3 vols., London, 1798), 2:43.
20. *Ibid.*, 2:492; see also 3:335.
21. Thomas Coulter, 'Notes on Upper California,' *Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc. of London*, 5:68 (1835).

22. Alexander Forbes, *California* (London, 1839), 163. See also p. 311.
23. Frederick W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait* (2 vols., London, 1831), 2:60.
24. Coulter, "Notes on Upper California," 66.
25. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 1:432; Beechey, *Narrative*, 2:3, 64, 67.
26. Forbes, *California*, *passim*; but especially pp. 152-153, 288. See also Lester G. Engelson, "Proposals for the Colonization of California, by England in Connection with the Mexican Debt to British Bondholders 1836-1846," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 18:136-148 (1939); Robert C. Wylie, *Mexico. Report on its finances . . . to which are added . . . remarks on colonization* (London, 1844), 77-79.
27. Joseph Schafer, ed., "Letters of Sir George Simpson 1841-1843," *American Historical Review*, 14:88-90 (1908), George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* (2 vols., London, 1847), 1:409-411.
28. George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers* (10 vols., Berkeley, 1951-1968), 2:205; *Hansard*, 3rd Series, 1845, lxxviii, 430-432; Stuart Wortley to Sir Robert Peel.
29. *The Athenæum* (1839), p. 151.
30. *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, 4:166 (1845), quoted in Wilbur S. Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America* (Minneapolis, 1957), p. 224.
31. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:498.
32. Coulter, "Notes on Upper California," 68.
33. Frederick Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific in Her Majesty's Ship "Collinwood" from 1844 to 1848* (2 vols., London, 1849), 2:219.
34. The first announcement that this work was a fraud was contained in Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years* (2 vols., London, 1893), 1:343. See also Douglas S. Watson, "Spurious Californiana—"Four Months Among the Gold Finders" Henry Vizetelly's Confession to an Astounding Literary Hoax," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 11:65-68 (1932). The work is highly valued in Robert E. Cowan, *A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West 1510-1906* (new edn., Columbus, Ohio, 1952). 25.
35. Brooks, *Four Months*, 9, 100.
36. *Ibid.*, 102-104, 110-113, 131-135, 153-154, 183.
37. *Ibid.*, 201, 202.
38. See the reviews quoted in Vizetelly, *Glances Back*, 1:343.
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40. *Ibid.*, 2:278, 311, 329.
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44. *Ibid.*, 59-61, 89-93, 95-98, 101-113, 114, 120, 147-148, 169, 177, 239-240.
45. Edward Lucatt, *Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849; with a glance at California* (London, 1851), 341.
46. *Ibid.*, 339, 341, 342-343, 345, 348-349, 360, 363.
47. *The Californian Hoax* (London: W. G. Kerton, n.d.). Incomplete typescript in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
48. Frederick Gerstaecker, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* (3 vols., London, 1853), 1:262, 280-283, 311, 335-337; 2:6-7, 45, 60-63.
49. *Ibid.*, 2:51, 56-57, 58.
50. Frederick Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills; or, Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (London, 1855). See pp. 36-37, 41-45, 94, 173-174, 197, 215-217 for unfavorable comment. The quotation is taken from p. 250. More favorable views are on pp. 155, 157-158, 159, 164-166, 303-304, 306-313, 380-382.
51. Published in London in 1852 and 1851 respectively.



52. Alexander Mackay, *The Western World; or, Travels in the United States in 1846-47 . . . including . . . a chapter on California* (3rd edn., 3 vols., London, 1850), 3: Chapter XIII; John Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London, 1857).

53. William Thurston, *Guide to the Gold Regions of Upper California* (London, 1849), 7; *Guide to California* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1849), 13.

Other works of this type include David T. Ansted, *The Gold-Seeker's Manual* (London, 1849); *California: Its Past History; Its Present Position; Its Future Prospects* (London, 1850)—a very good work of its kind; *Chambers Papers for the People*, IV, *California* (Edinburgh, 1850); *Geographical and Mineralogical Notes to Accompany M. Wyld's Map of the Gold Regions of California* (London, 1849); *The Gold Regions of California; describing the Geographical, Topographical and Historical View of the Country, from the Official Reports* (London, 1849); B. Schmölder, *The Emigrant's Guide to California Describing Its Geography, Agricultural and Commercial Resources* (London, 1849); G. A. Thompson, *Handbook to the Pacific and California* (London, 1849).

54. Schmölder, *Emigrants' Guide to California*, 52-53; Ansted, *Gold-Seeker's Manual*, 162.

55. *California: Its Past History*, 230.

56. *Ibid.*, 132. See also p. 224.

57. *Illustrated London News*, January 13, 1849.

58. *Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald*, March 10, 1849.

59. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1851.

60. For early favorable comment see, for instance, *The Times*, January 5, 1849; for the quoted comment *Ibid.*, April 11, 1849.

61. *The Times*, July 7, 1849.

62. *The Athenæum* (1849), p. 157.

63. *Ibid.*, 741.

64. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1851), p. 470.

65. Quoted in John Rowe, "Cornish Emigrants and America," *British Association for American Studies Bulletin*, 8:7 (1959).

66. *Punch* (1849), p. 64.

67. *The Athenæum* (1849), p. 157.

68. *Guide to California*, 5. See also *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1852), p. 98, for similar, if more restrained, remarks.

69. *The Times*, January 4, 24, 26, 29, 31, February 9, 13, 16, 28, August 27, 1849; *Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald*, July 21, 1849; Robert Richards, *The Californian Crusoe; or, The Lost Treasure Found* (London, 1854); Montague H. P. Hall, *California: A Poem* (London, 1849).

70. William Newmarch, *The New Supplies of Gold* (London, 1849); *Observations on the effect of the Californian and Australian Gold* (London, 1849); *London Illustrated News*, January 16, 1849, August 10, 1850; *Lancet* (1849), 2:385 (1850), 1:101, 179, 682, 2:644ff.

71. *The Times*, March 1, 1849.

72. Sidney Smith, *The Settler's New Home; or, The Emigrant's Location* (London, 1849), 129.

73. Vere Foster, *Work and Wages; or, The Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada* (5th edn., London, 1855), Chapter II, *passim*.

74. *Cassell's Handy Guide to California* (London, 1855), 15.

75. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 54.

76. British investment in California in 1856 was only £250,000-£300,000, according to the British consul in San Francisco. See P. R. O. Foreign Office Papers, Series 5, Vol. 653; Aikin to Clarendon, 1 Feb. 1856. See also Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier* (Ithaca, 1958), 4-5; W. Turrentine Jackson, "Mazatlan to the Estanislao. Narrative of Lewis Richard Price's Journey to California in 1849," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 39:35-36 (1960).

77. Robert Allsop, *California and Its Gold Mines* (London, 1853), 130-132. Robert edited his brother's letters for publication.

78. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "California, Why We Come; Myth or Reality," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 44:124 (1965).

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# Welllllcome to Camp Curry

SHIRLEY SARGENT

*Author of a forthcoming book entitled Yosemite's Innkeepers,  
a history of Yosemite Park & Curry Co., from which the material in this article is derived.*

**T**HREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY AGO an innovative tent camp was set up at the base of Glacier Point in Yosemite Valley after months of preparation by Jennie and David A. Curry. They were Hoosiers by birth, teachers by profession, and pioneers by inclination whose desire to visit Yosemite had been frustrated by the high cost of travel and lodging. At that time the only accommodations available in the valley were at the Sentinel Hotel where the minimum charge was \$4.00 a day plus tips. That seemed exorbitant to the Currys who had operated inexpensive movable camps for tour groups in Yellowstone National Park, and they determined to operate a fixed summer camp in Yosemite Valley with minimum costs.

Residents disdained the site the Currys leased as too cold and too isolated from the center of human activities in the village adjacent to the Sentinel Hotel complex. Nevertheless, on June 1, 1899, seven tents were erected, and the camp, soon known as Camp Curry, begun. Seventy-five years later, the village and all

*Camp Curry began on a shoestring with only one paid employee, the cook, and not even she was paid until the end of the summer. On June 1, 1899, opening day, there were seven tents and nine guests. As patronage increased, college students exchanged labor for bed, board and the unique experience of living in Yosemite Valley. For \$2.00 a day, and no tipping, guests had a tent, a good table and clean napkins every meal. Sometimes food didn't arrive so a loaves-and-fishes menu had to be improvised; other times stages disgorged more passengers than there were beds and the Curry family slept under the stars so guests could use their tents. By the first season's end, 25 tents stood at Camp Curry, 290 people had used them, and the Currys were planning expansion and improvements for the next summer.*



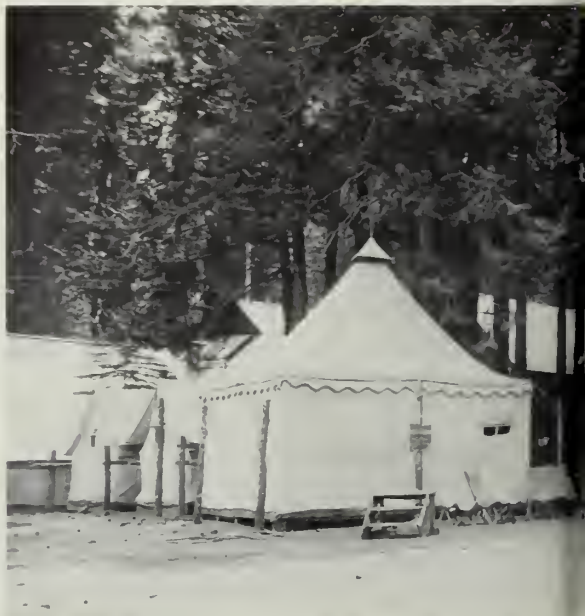
vestiges of the hotel buildings are gone, while Camp Curry, now known as Curry Village, composed of 641 tents and cabins, is still an entity.

For seventy of its seventy-five years Camp Curry, which after 1925 was one unit of the Yosemite Park and Curry Co., was a family-oriented enterprise. Jennie and David Curry, their children Foster, Mary, and Marjorie, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren were active in the management and operation. Since 1973, ownership of the Yosemite Park & Curry Co. is in the conglomerate hands of the Music Corporation of America, but two of the Curry grandchildren serve on its board of directors. Today, as in its 27,475 yesterdays, Curry Village has a special charm, compounded of beauty, history, and informality which is still enjoyed seasonally by new and old timers.



*The wife of Camp Curry's leather-lunged proprietor doubled as co-manager. "Mother Curry," as she was widely known, was loved for her calm, compassion, energy, and attention to guest and employee needs. "I did a little of everything one time or another," she recalled, "I made salads and put up the tents. I was baker and head waitress, postmistress and pantrywoman . . . and it didn't hurt my pride, any of it."*

*By 1901, a large barn-like dining room, shown in the background, and rustic office had been built, but tenting tonight in the new campground kept guests and prices happy.*





*Big in bulk, ambition and vocal prowess, David A. Curry was soon famed for his Stentorian shouts of "WELCOME TO CAMP CURRY" and "FAREWELLLLL." From 1899 until his death in 1917, he personified the Camp's democratic and informal spirit. The story goes that when he shouted "ALL'S WELL" as a nightly benediction to guests, campers, in a distant public campground, sometimes responded, "LIKE HELL!"*





*As registration increased from 410 guests in 1910 to 5,304 in 1914, and over 11,000 in the Exposition year of 1915, canvas and togetherness proliferated. The first bungalows were not built until 1917; the one shown beyond the tents belonged to Mother Curry.*

*After breakfast, guests scattered to piney corners of Yosemite Valley or upwards to ride horseback, hike, climb, or fish while enjoying unrivalled beauty. Some stayed in camp where they indulged in such leisure activities as tennis and croquet (below) or watched aquatic exhibitions in the swimming "tank" (below right). By 1920 bowling, billiards, dancing, and a "Kiddie Kamp" were provided at the camp, and guests could buy anything from curios to clothes, mosquito repellant to freshly made ice cream, in the shops. Liquor, however, was never sold at camp because the Currys were adamant teetotalers.*



Climax of the evening's entertainment was the firefall that had been begun in impromptu fashion about 1872 by pioneer James McCauley. Early in the 1900's, David Curry made it a nightly excitement. A college student was employed to start a fire, usually of red fir bark, on Glacier Point late in the afternoon, which burned into coals. At nine p.m. Curry would cup his hands around his mouth, throw his head back, and call up to the fire-tender, "IS THE FIRE READY?" Breathlessly the audience awaited the faint answer, "THE FIRE IS READY!", followed by Curry's roaring command, "LET'ER GO, GALLAGHER!" Slowly glowing embers fanned over the precipice in a shower of red. Thrilled spectators watched the fiery cascade pour downward to a ledge where it died harmlessly. This tradition continued until January, 1968, when it was terminated as an artificial type of entertainment by the director of the National Park Service.







*From the Camp's inception, an evening campfire was traditional. In time, entertainment became more structured and guests thronged to see comics, singers, dancers, and other acts.*



*Right: On their time off, employees climbed the heights and did such feats as help restring the cable on Half Dome, after which they posed for a picture on the over-hanging lip of the famous monolith.*



*Above: By 1925 there were over 100 different summer jobs, ranging from dishwasher to pantrywoman, fancy ironer to chocolate dipper, available at Camp Curry. There was always a waiting list of applicants, mostly college students, though they were forewarned that the pay was small and "A desire to spend the summer in Yosemite is not a sufficient qualification for a position for us—there must be also a desire and ability to perform well your part, whatever that may be . . . If you cannot carry a tray, do not apply for a dining room position. If you cannot make a bed, sweep a room and care for a bathroom exquisitely, do not apply as maid. If you are not willing to keep the grounds clean, empty the slop jars and wrestle the baggage, do not apply as porter. . . ."*



*In the 1920's, believe it or not, Yosemite concessionaires and even the Park Service did their best to attract tourists to the park. One of the ways in which Camp Curry aided was in sponsoring an economy run each spring. A silver loving cup was given to the first driver who forced a car into Yosemite Valley over the pioneer Big Oak Flat Road on the Coulterville Road. In this particular picture, Mrs. Curry is shown awarding the prize of 1926.*

*From 1913 on, when automobiles were allowed to use Yosemite roads, they played an important part in the development of Camp Curry. Here, driver Foster Curry is shown at the very edge of Glacier Point giving passengers an unusual view of Yosemite Valley.*



THE PHOTOGRAPHS on pages 131, 132 (top), 132-33 (bottom), 136 (bottom), and 138 (top) are courtesy the Yosemite Park & Curry Co.; the portrait on page 133 (top) is courtesy Virginia Best Adams; those on page 134 (bottom) and 138 (bottom) are courtesy Ruth Curry Burns; the view on page 137 is from Dr. John F. Fahey's collection; and the remainder of the photos are in the author's collection.



# Some New Thoughts on an Old Mill

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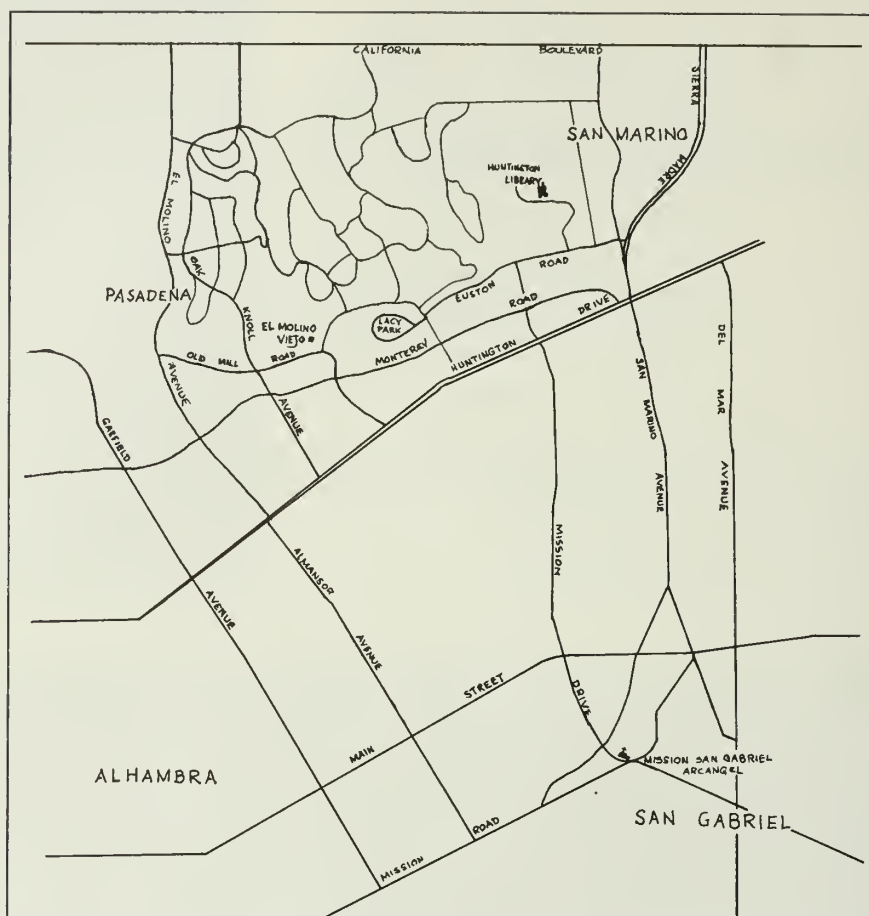
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**N**ESTLING AT THE FOOT OF A BLUFF on the San Marino-Pasadena border is an old Spanish adobe once owned by such illustrious Californians as Henry E. Huntington, Edward Mayberry, Colonel E. J. C. Kewen, James S. Waite, Dr. T. J. White, William Workman, Hugo Reid, and Franciscan missionaries representing the king of Spain. El Molino Viejo (the Old Mill) now serves as the Southern California Headquarters of the California Historical Society. Located in the shadow of a large hotel and suburban San Marino homes and surrounded by a lovely restored garden, the Old Mill stands as a fascinating reminder of Spain's historical and architectural heritage in California.

While not the most significant old structure in Southern California, this San Gabriel Valley adobe witnessed every important phase of California's history, save its exploration and discovery. Built around 1816 as a part of Spain's effort to colonize California, the Old Mill was visited by early American and French adventurers; it passed through the difficult transition period of 1833-1849 and was occupied successively by Confederate sympathizers, California viniculturists, and land developers of the boom period. The adobe was later restored during the mission revival era and finally acquired by the city of San Marino. In short, the Old Mill illustrates many important aspects of the socio-economic development of Southern California.

Its architectural simplicity, natural setting, and romantic history have inspired an abundance of writers, artists, poets, and photographers. Countless articles in newspapers, magazines, travel journals, and guide books have discussed its architecture, its garden, its restoration, the engineering principles of the mill, and its colorful residents.<sup>1</sup> Writers of a more romantic bent have composed poems and tales of lost treasure and ghosts, Indian raids, and Romeo and Juliet-style romances.<sup>2</sup>

This plethora of literature, while entertaining and somewhat informative, has distorted much of the mill's past. Pasadena historian Hiram Reid commented on this problem in 1895: "Even some of the attempts at sober history in this matter



*El Molino's environs have altered greatly since the building's construction in the early nineteenth century by Spanish padres.*

have been little better than romantic fancy. It is so much easier and pleasanter to imagine how it 'might have been' than it is to hunt up facts as to *how it really was*."<sup>3</sup>

Local historians and aficionados of the history of the San Gabriel Valley have understandably become confused by these less than accurate accounts. In 1950 Robert Glass Cleland wrote a superb history of El Molino Viejo<sup>4</sup> which dispelled many of these legends and mistaken beliefs. Nonetheless, inaccuracies still persist, and through careful documentation and exposition of additional source material, this article attempts to recount the mill's history and correct some lingering errors.

Toiling missionaries, while keeping succinct records, did not always record detailed accounts relating to auxiliary mission buildings such as the Old Mill. Likewise, visiting merchants, explorers, and local residents did not usually describe in depth the activities of mundane industrial complexes. Therefore, it is not surprising that the sources relating to the history of the Old Mill during the Spanish-Mexican period are scarce, and, as a consequence, much of the building's early history has been based upon unfounded hypotheses.

It is known that Padre José María Zalvidea of nearby Mission San Gabriel built

the Old Mill, Southern California's first water-powered grist mill.<sup>5</sup> Local historians, however, have long debated the date that Zalvidea completed the mill. An early Pasadena historian, C. F. Holder, correctly summarized the situation when he wrote, "As to the age of El Molino, no one knows, and there is no exact record of its builders."<sup>6</sup> Possible dates range from 1810 to 1823. While the annual reports or *entonces* written by the missionaries throw some light on the problem, they do not completely settle it. The reports mention only the building of four mills during the period 1816–1825 and, regrettably, do not identify in adequate detail the mills to which they were referring.<sup>7</sup> The 1816 *entonces*, according to Englehart's translation, read: "In 1816, two buildings were put up of adobe and roofed with tiles. One of these was to serve as a mill. Its dimensions were 18¾ varas (or about 52 feet in length) and 9¼ varas (or about 19 feet in width)."<sup>8</sup> The measurements contained in the report roughly correspond to the dimensions of the mill now in San Marino, but there is no indication whether the mill under discussion was water-powered or not; it is the 1820 report which contains the first mention of a mill so powered. Therefore, local historians and antiquarians are faced with an unresolvable uncertainty.

This debate has led to other distortions. Local residents such as Hiram Reid proudly asserted that El Molino Viejo was the first water-powered grist mill in California.<sup>9</sup> They also add that Zalvidea invented the horizontal water wheel or undershot mill. Indeed, the second edition of Cleland's book is entitled *El Molino Viejo: Spanish California's First Grist Mill*. Another history of the mill expansively proclaims: "This then was the true primitive idea of the radial water-turbine . . . and is in fact not only the first water wheel in California, but the first of its type ever to be built."<sup>10</sup>

While the hard-driving and hard-working cleric Zalvidea was not the inventor of the horizontal water wheel, he does deserve credit for transforming Mission San Gabriel into a prosperous and self-sufficient agricultural community. Zalvidea succeeded admirably in implementing Spain's colonization scheme for Alta California. During his tenure from 1806 to 1825, record harvests were gathered, livestock multiplied, semi-skilled crafts and industry were developed, and viniculture was introduced. In short, Zalvidea strengthened one link in Spain's overextended borderlands.<sup>11</sup>

Critics of Spain's missionary effort and Zalvidea assert that the assiduous padre achieved success only because he worked as a merciless taskmaster among his wards. Alexander Taylor, in "The Indianology of California," characterized Zalvidea in the following manner: "He was not only severe, but he was in his chastisements most cruel . . . he must assuredly have considered whipping as meat and drink to them for they had it morning, noon and night."<sup>12</sup> Taylor continued, "Although so severe to the Indians," Zalvidea, reflecting a dichotomy common in the day, was "kind to the extreme to travelers and others."<sup>13</sup> Perhaps Zalvidea's hospitality accounts for the many favorable comments of his contemporaries.

Harrison Rogers, Eulalia Pérez de Guillen, Michael White, and Hugo Reid spoke highly of the zealous padre's early accomplishments in the valley.<sup>14</sup> Reid, in one of his famous letters to the Los Angeles *Star*, applauded Zalvidea in the following passage:



On the arrival of Padre Jose Maria [Zalvidea], cattle were plenty, as were likewise horses, mares, sheep and hogs. Cultivation was carried on to considerable extent, but it was to him that the after splendor of San Gabriel was due. He it was who planted the large Vineyards intersected with fine walks, shaded by fruit trees of every description, and rendered still more lovely by shrubs interspersed between—who laid out the orange garden, fruit and olive orchards—built the mill and dam. . . . He likewise remodeled the general system of government, putting everything in order and to its proper use, and placing every person in his proper station. Everything under him was organized and that organization kept up with the lash!<sup>15</sup>

Good harvests and progress in educating the mission's 1700 neophytes enabled Zalvidea to expand in the second decade of the century. According to Reid, "large soap works were erected, tanning yards established, tallow works bakery, cooper, blacksmith . . . and other shops . . . were built."<sup>16</sup>

Following this program of industrial development, Zalvidea established another work center two miles northwest of the mission at the junction of Mill and Los Robles canyons, the site of the present day Old Mill. Undoubtedly, the numerous streams that threaded the canyons of this area induced him to build away from the mission at a spot where the water supply would provide sufficient motive power for a grist mill, a saw mill, tannery works, and a wool washery.<sup>17</sup>

Ground corn and wheat, of course, were the main ingredients of the Indian neophyte's diet. Traditionally, Indian women ground meal by means of the hand-operated *metate* or mortar and pestle. But, as the population grew and harvests increased, a faster means of providing flour was needed. To keep up with the demand, Zalvidea introduced a water-powered grist mill to the mission.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, only by supposition and conjecture can the operation and design of this mill built more than a century and a half ago be reconstructed. Later conversion of the two-story adobe into a residence has obliterated almost all traces of its machinery. However, by studying rebuilt mission mills, contemporary observations, and secondary sources on milling, a reasonable understanding of its workings is obtainable.<sup>19</sup>

Zalvidea, in planning the mill, employed as a basic design the Spanish-style tub mill powered by a horizontal water-wheel. Contrary to local histories, introduction of this type of grist mill was not without precedent. A tub mill ground wheat and pulverized bone for fertilizers at Mission San Jose in Texas as early as 1730-31.<sup>20</sup> In California, horizontal water wheels turned the mill stones at Santa Cruz, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio de Padua.<sup>21</sup> Examination of mission archives indicates that California's first water-powered grist mill was constructed in Northern California at Santa Cruz. Built in 1794, it predated the San Gabriel mill by at least a generation.<sup>22</sup>

Mission padres, operating in a frontier environment and dependent upon Indian labor and their own limited mechanical knowledge, utilized the tub mill because of its simplicity. Composed of a minimum number of parts, it proved more advantageous to build than the well-known New England-style mill with its gearing and vertical or overshot wheel.<sup>23</sup>

Zalvidea, while the prime-mover behind the mill's construction, probably enlisted the help of Claudio Lopez and José Antonio Ramirez. Little is known about Lopez except that he held the position of chief *mayordomo* (overseer) of the



*In this early photo of El Molino (c. 1875), the shingle roof, lean-tos, and dormer windows added by the Kewens are visible behind the black walnut tree which still flourishes.*

mission for about thirty years.<sup>24</sup> Reminiscences by Hugo Reid and interviews recorded by Hiram Reid credit Lopez with supervising the construction of El Molino Viejo.<sup>25</sup> In matters technical, Zalvidea most likely called upon Ramirez. At the time, Ramirez was the chief architect and mason of the Southern California missions and had done much work in the construction of churches and auxiliary buildings. It seems logical that Zalvidea would ask for his help in attempting to build semi-sophisticated machinery.<sup>26</sup>

Following typical frontier building techniques, workers obtained building materials from the immediate vicinity. Geological evidence demonstrates that Indians gathered boulders and rocks for the foundation from nearby stream beds. The ten-inch-thick beams used for supporting the roof and lintels for the doors were hewn from pine and sycamore trees hauled down from the San Gabriel Mountains. Of course, that ubiquitous substance, adobe, was used to make sun-dried and kiln-dried bricks and tile for the roof.<sup>27</sup>

The relatively large proportions of the stout building suggest that Zalvidea intended to use the mill for heavy and long use. Numerous earthquakes in the valley of the Temblores River necessitated that the walls be thick. Walls ranging from 5½ to 3½ feet thick were erected. As further assurance against the ravages of earthquake and the vibrations of the machinery, Zalvidea added two massive buttresses to the corners of the east wall.<sup>28</sup> This wall, the main facade of the building, was graced by two arches—one of the strongest building forms known. Hiram Reid speculated that the missionaries, fearful of Indian attack, used the thick-walled structure for a fortress.<sup>29</sup>

Its dimensions, 52 x 20 feet and 20 feet high, further suggest that Zalvidea planned for an expanding economy. Production of surplus grain for sale to non-

mission residents required the construction of a warehouse of some sort. The mill could easily have served this purpose. Additionally, the lower floor with its two arched vaults was built to accommodate two waterwheels. Apparently, Zalvidea intended to mill large quantities of grain, but whether or not two were used is unknown.

Architecturally, Zalvidea's building possesses great charm. A successful fusion of thick walls, arches, tasteful windows, and tile roof make the mill one of the finest examples of secular Spanish architecture in California. Indian laborers adorned this engineering wonder of the San Gabriel Mission with a coat of white-wash. The mill, despite its utilitarian function, must have been a beautiful site for Zalvidea and his neophytes.<sup>30</sup>

As alluded to previously, the mill operated on simple engineering principles. Water captured from Los Robles and Mill Canyon streams powered the water-wheel. The Franciscans, expert in irrigation, first directed the stream water to a small dam above the mill. From there, ditches or *acequias* channelled water through a race to a cistern or reservoir located on the west wall. This funnel-shaped cistern (approximately 15 feet deep, 10 feet wide at the top, and 4 feet wide at the bottom), held an enormous quantity of water which was stored until ready for use. (Remains of the cistern and mill race can still be seen today.)<sup>31</sup>

The next process, the operation of the mill, was best described by Alexander Forbes in 1839. This description, while the earliest dealing with the mechanical operations of a California mill, is extremely lucid:

The mills for grinding flour in Upper California are but few, and of the most primitive construction; but none better are to be found in the other parts of Spanish America. . . . These mills consist of an upright axle, to the lower end of which is fixed a horizontal water-wheel placed under the building, and to the upper end the mill-stone; and as there is no intermediate machinery to increase the velocity, it is evident, that the mill stone can make only the same number of revolutions as the water-wheel; this makes it necessary that the wheel should be of very small diameter, otherwise no power of water thrown upon it could make it go at a rate sufficient to give the mill-stone the requisite velocity. It is therefore made of very small dimensions and constructed in the following manner. A set of what is called cucharas (spoons) are stuck into the periphery of the wheel, which serve in place of float boards; they are made of pieces of timber in something of the shape of spoons, the handles being inserted into mortices on the edge of the wheel, and the bowls of the spoons made to receive the water, which spouts on them laterly and forces round the small wheel with nearly the whole velocity of the water which impinges upon it.<sup>32</sup>

Indian laborers then poured the grain into a hopper. Mr. Jackson in his book *Mills of Yesteryear* describes this action in the following passage:

The hopper, supported by a wooden framework, slightly above and off center from the stones, fed the grain to them by means of a small trough. The grain, in turn, poured from a spout at the base of the lower stone into a barrel-like receptacle. After serving its purpose, the spent mill water was conveyed by lower ditch to the nearby fields.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of El Molino Viejo, the spent water was used again to provide motive power for a nearby saw mill and tannery works. After that, the water drained into Mission Lake (now Lacy Park) on the east side of the mill.

Unfortunately, no record exists as to who actually installed the mill machinery



and how it worked. Ramirez, because of his superior technical skills, may have designed and superintended the construction of the wheel, shaft, and hopper. Lopez, on the other hand, may have overseen the construction of such areas as the walls and roof.

The stones ground the products of the mission harvest during its most productive era. Unusually heavy rains during that time kept the mill reservoir full and the wheel turning.<sup>34</sup> At the peak harvest years of Mission San Gabriel, El Molino Viejo ground corn and wheat for the padres, Indians, and local ranchos.

Although constructed with permanency in mind, the padres of San Gabriel replaced the mill in 1823. During its seven years of service, two irritating problems arose. The basic design of the mill was an obvious drawback, as all Spanish-style mills operated at an extremely slow speed. The horizontally mounted water wheel required a large quantity of water to turn it, and in a short time the supply was exhausted. Furthermore, one revolution of the wheel represented only one turn of the stone, and only a small amount of grain could be milled in one day.<sup>35</sup>

Criticism of the tub mill design was not uncommon.<sup>36</sup> Such mills in New England were described as equally inefficient and slow. At Mission San José de Bexar in Bexar County, Texas, the millers became so impatient that they switched from water power to Indian manpower.<sup>37</sup> The mill's simplicity, however, assured it a place in minor settlements.

In addition to the slow speed of the mill, dampness permeated the building, for El Molino Viejo's builders had located the structure above a small natural spring. (Hiram Reid postulated that the position was chosen with thoughts of providing a water supply in case the mill was besieged by hostile Indians.<sup>38</sup>) Nonetheless, the spring dampened the walls and probably caused a certain amount of mildew, therefore making storage of grain on the lower level difficult. It is probable, however, that the unground grain was stored there, while the grist was kept in the granary on the upper level.

Despite the slow speed and dampness, it is most likely that the advent of a superior mill design in California caused the relegation of El Molino Viejo to a secondary role at San Gabriel. In 1821, Joseph Chapman, a reclaimed member of a pirate community which sailed the California coast in the 1820's and who was described as "the Yanky and jack of all trades," built a mill at Mission Santa Inez powered by a vertical-overshot water wheel.<sup>39</sup> An important feature of Chapman's mill was its bevel gearing which enabled the millstones to turn at a much faster rate than the water wheel and thereby grind a greater quantity of wheat than the tub mill.<sup>40</sup>

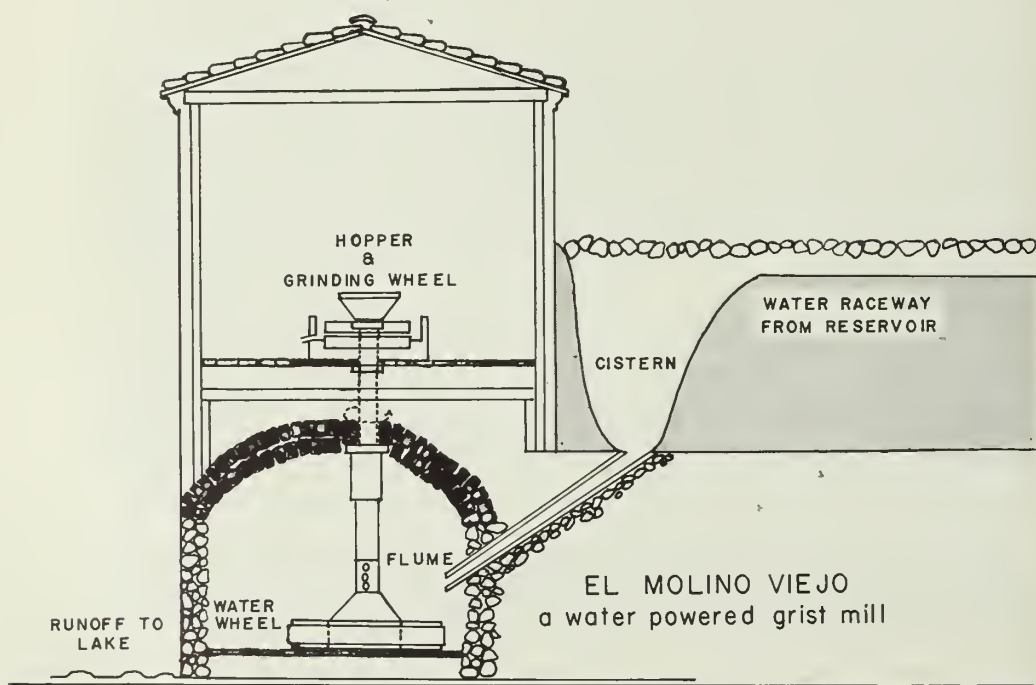
On September 25, 1821, Governor Armando Sola, impressed by Chapman's demonstrated mechanical acumen, ordered "that the 'pilot prisoner' be sent to build a mill at San Gabriel like that he had built at Santa Inez."<sup>41</sup> Chapman conveniently located the new mill just south of the mission quadrangle and finished construction around 1823.<sup>42</sup> Thus, in one short decade, milling at San Gabriel had progressed from crude *metates* to the semi-sophisticated horizontal water wheel introduced by Chapman.

Despite the existence of the ruins of Chapman's mill near the mission and detailed contemporary records, historians have persistently confused his mill with the older mill two miles away at El Molino Viejo. The *Centennial History of*

*Like this mill at San José de Bexar in Texas, El Molino's mill stones were centered directly over the driving shaft. Here the visible top stone was stationary, while the one directly underneath it rotated.*



*This artist's conception of the milling machinery illustrates how water was channeled from the cistern to turn the horizontal shaft which moved the millstone above.*



*Padres examine a water wheel  
at Mission San Antonio.  
Water shot from the flume at  
left and turned the wheel, shaft,  
and mill stone above.*



*Los Angeles*,<sup>43</sup> published in 1876, states that Chapman built his mill first and the padres followed with the one in present-day San Marino. Elizabeth Florer, in an article entitled "Oldest Mill on the West Coast," erroneously said that Chapman replaced the horizontal wheel at El Molino with a flutter wheel.<sup>44</sup> John S. Gorby, in a *Touring Topics* article, relates the story that Chapman remodeled Zalvidea's mill to accommodate a vertical water wheel and bevel gearing or cogs.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps Gorby did not know of the existence of the "new" mill.

Whatever the reasons for error, it is clear that the residents of San Gabriel referred to Zalvidea's mill as El Molino Viejo and that the moisture caused by the spring, the mill's slow speed, and the superiority of the pirate's design proved sufficient reason for its replacement. Additionally, the close proximity of Chapman's mill to the mission made it considerably more convenient than Zalvidea's building which probably operated on a regular basis for less than a decade.

No longer providing the mission with wheat, El Molino Viejo served San Gabriel as a place for recreation and relaxation. Visitors and residents alike regarded it as a particularly romantic and picturesque spot. Hugo Reid tells the story that Padre Sanchez (Zalvidea's successor) held numerous picnics at the mill. Reid described Sanchez as "of cheerful disposition, frank and generous . . . picnics were of weekly occurrence, generally held at the mill. . . ."<sup>46</sup>

The Old Mill also charmed Alfred Robinson when he visited San Gabriel in 1826. Robinson, in his *Life in California*, described the location:

On the declivity of a hill is erected a molino, or grist-mill, surrounded with fruit trees and flowers. A beautiful lake lies calm and unruffled in front, and all around fresh streams are gushing from the earth, and scattering their waters in every direction. It would be a magnificent spot for a summer retreat, and much reminded me of many of the beautiful locations to be with in the vicinity of Boston.<sup>47</sup>

Other sojourners in the valley such as Harrison Rogers, with Jedediah Smith,



and the Frenchman Duflot de Mofras mention seeing the mill. The fact that these wayfarers mention the mill attests to its continual use as a place of work and pleasure. Contrary to popular belief, it was not, then, totally abandoned.<sup>48</sup>

Mission records during the tempestuous era of transitional California are scanty. Aside from the colorful observations of Hugo Reid and the aforementioned visitors, no account of the mill's history exists. Of course, this paucity was due in large part to the secularization of the missions. Prior to de Mofras' 1841 account, the only record of the mill is its inclusion in the final inventory of Mission San Gabriel before secularization. A memorandum of November, 1834, mentions among other things that the mission possessed "two water mills, one about half a league away [El Molino Viejo] and the other in front of the mission [Chapman's mill]."<sup>49</sup>

After 1836, there was a gradual decline of material prosperity at San Gabriel, and on June 8, 1846, the mission lands were sold by Governor Pio Pico to William (Julian) Workman and Hugo Reid.<sup>50</sup> Workman was a Missourian who had set out for California in 1841.<sup>51</sup> Reid was an educated Scotsman who had arrived in Los Angeles via Mexico in 1834 and had married an unusual Indian woman, Doña Victoria.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately, the sale of mission lands to the two men was contested by the Americans under Frémont, and litigation to determine true ownership dragged on in the courts for years until the case was decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1864.<sup>53</sup>

While all this was going on, an enterprising merchant named James S. Waite, who later became editor of the *Los Angeles Star*<sup>54</sup> and the town's postmaster,<sup>55</sup> established his own personal possession of the mill and of approximately 160 acres of land surrounding it. He testified in court regarding his occupancy of the land that the only person who had raised any objection to his being there was the father in charge of the San Gabriel Mission, Padre Blas Ordaz. Ordaz' support, Waite complained, was supposed to have been provided for by Reid and Workman to whom Pio Pico had originally granted the mission lands. The two were also to have paid \$7000 for the land as well as the "due debts" that had been incurred by the mission. Neither Reid, who died in 1852, nor Workman appear to have fulfilled these conditions. Waite testified that he had had a conversation with Reid in which the latter explained to him the terms of the sale and that "the reason for their non compliance was because they were dispossessed by Colonel Frémont who took possession on behalf of the government of the United States on or about the year 1846." Waite continued under cross-examination that "conceiving the lands to belong to the United States, I am a settler claiming one hundred and sixty acres."<sup>56</sup>

While Waite has been referred to by some historians as a "squatter," he might perhaps more fairly be considered a homesteader, since the usual grants of land to homesteaders were parcels of 160 acres. In any case, Waite's preemption of the Old Mill property was in effect validated by a later Supreme Court decision that Pio Pico's grant to Reid and Workman was without authority, but James Waite had long since moved to San Bernardino (he became notary public there in April of 1859 and a dealer in general merchandise),<sup>57</sup> and his sale of the Old Mill for \$500 to Dr. Thomas J. White, on July 12, 1859,<sup>58</sup> was never challenged in the courts.

Thomas White, one of Los Angeles' most fascinating early settlers, had led a caravan across the country from St. Louis, reaching Sacramento in 1849. In December of that year he was chosen a member of California's first Constitutional Convention, and he went to San Jose as its speaker. Historian Winfield J. Davis described Dr. White in another way as "the first surgeon to successfully transplant flesh."<sup>59</sup> White had left Northern California for Los Angeles in 1855 where he practiced medicine, advertised his "eye and ear infirmary,"<sup>60</sup> and later bought out and operated a wholesale and retail drug company. Dr. White was also well known as a viticulturalist ("one of our industrious and scientific vintagers"<sup>61</sup> whose sixty acres of vineyards had 16,000 vines and dozens of fruit trees and a "fine two-story house near the river").<sup>62</sup> He served on the Los Angeles Board of Education, and he and his family entertained generously.

On April 17, 1859, a few months after his acquisition of the mill, Dr. White transferred ownership of it to his older daughter, Fannie J. Kewen, on "payment of \$1.00 and his natural love and affection."<sup>63</sup> Fannie's husband, a handsome young colonel named E. J. C. Kewen, had joined Dr. White's party traveling westward. The two had fallen in love, and they were married in one of the first American wedding ceremonies in California soon after they had arrived in Sacramento.<sup>64</sup> The *Sacramento Daily Record* described Kewen at the time of his marriage as "a brilliant young man . . . (who) had a wonderful power of language, occupied a leading position at the bar and was very ambitious politically."<sup>65</sup> The couple had several children, although only two survived their parents.

Winfield J. Davis referred to Kewen as a man of "daring and fervid elocution,"<sup>66</sup> yet "with a peculiar restlessness" which led him to join his friend General William Walker in the latter's wild adventure—a filibustering expedition to Nicaragua in 1855.<sup>67</sup> His brother, A. L. Kewen, the general's aide, had been killed in the battle of Rivas, and Kewen felt distressed, bereft, and ready to embark on any adventure, however wild. The expedition was a disaster. While in Nicaragua, Kewen was involved somehow with the capture of John Hollenbeck<sup>68</sup> who later played a part in the story of El Molino Viejo.

On settling at El Molino Viejo, the Kewens built a porch, added lean-tos to provide extra space, and planted beautiful gardens. He and his wife were known for their open and generous hospitality. Mrs. Frank Leslie, who visited the Kewens in 1877, described the enhanced El Molino Viejo:

Colonel Kewen restored, improved and added to this ruin, and it stands today, one of the loveliest homes in California. No walls or fences limit the view. The eye roams over masses of heliotrope six feet high, roses of every shade, banks of honeysuckle, lilies, azaleas, passion flowers and pomegranates, cactii and aloes, and grand old willows, sweeping the ground with their slender fingertips.<sup>69</sup>

Archduke Ludwig Salvator of Austria wrote thus of the site in the 1870's: "It was a miniature paradise, where the soil is so rich that even without water it bears extraordinarily abundant crops . . . its water supply is ample, a brook flowing from an upper well crossing the garden near the house . . . birds hover constantly. . . ."<sup>70</sup>

The revitalized El Molino Viejo's new owner was a man of strong passions, and he sometimes expressed his feelings in poetry. One small volume published in

*Flamboyant, restless, opinionated  
E. J. C. Kewen and his family expanded  
and refurbished the mill and developed  
its grounds in the 1860's and 1870's to  
accommodate their open and  
gracious style of living.*



1853 under a pseudonym was entitled *Idealina and Other Poems*.<sup>71</sup> Kewen, most likely, was more effective as an orator. One account tells of a speech he made to the crowded California state assembly which lasted for four hours, was punctuated with applause, and brought him a standing ovation at its conclusion. The highly bigoted subject matter would be considered totally unacceptable today, but it pleased his audience immensely.<sup>72</sup>

Although Kewen practiced law in Los Angeles for many years beginning in 1858 (his office was in the Temple Block), he was always active in politics and could not refrain from making public utterances about his convictions. Almost inevitably he was embroiled in a feud with J. J. Warner, of an opposing political faction.<sup>73</sup> (Kewen's advertisement for his law practice regularly appeared in the *Southern Vineyard* despite his feud with that paper.) The settlement of El Monte not far from where the Old Mill was situated was a hotbed of southern sympathizers, and feelings at the outbreak of the Civil War were very high. Both Kewen and Malcolm Hamilton, successor to James Waite as editor of the *Star*, supported a secessionist point of view, and were arrested on a charge of treason.<sup>74</sup>

After his arrest, Kewen was taken to San Pedro and thence by steamer to San Francisco, where he was transferred by small boat to Alcatraz. Here he was to "subsist in a cell on soldier's rations, straw mattresses included."<sup>75</sup> Kewen was distressed that his friend General Wright was not in the city, because he felt sure that Wright would secure his release on bail immediately. (With characteristic assurance Kewen had boasted to his friends that he would return from San Francisco to them on the same boat.<sup>76</sup>)

After a fortnight in confinement "on charges of disloyalty to the government of the United States," his brother-in-law, Lt. Colonel Ayres, made application for his release and "brought him over to the Provost Marshal's office, where Justice Robbins administered the Oath of Allegiance to the Government. Colonel Kewen then gave bonds in the sum of \$5000 with Captains C. J. Brenham, Thos. Selley, and T. W. Lyles as sureties. Shortly thereafter he was on the street receiving the congratulations from his friends for his release from durance vile."<sup>77</sup>

A member-elect for Los Angeles County at the time of his arrest, Colonel Kewen took his seat in the state assembly at Sacramento soon thereafter. While he and his family were away from El Molino Viejo in 1862-63 on their official duties, they graciously lent their home to the Humphreys family which had recently crossed the country to California and needed a place to live.<sup>78</sup>



When Rebecca Humphreys Turner wrote her reminiscences in 1929, she was already a very old lady. Her memories of her happy days at the Old Mill, however, were still vivid. She recalled, for instance, the joy of living in a house with wooden floors: "Board floors in those days were not to be sneezed at."<sup>79</sup> With a mind for detail she continued: "The house was of solid masonry with walls from three to four feet thick. There were two large arches in the lower story where the water wheel had been placed, and it was hinted that a certain gloomy recess on this level had been used as a dungeon. In the upper story was the grinding room, with two small windows grilled with iron bars and protected by heavy shutters. The massive old pile was fascinating—it cast a spell over us all."<sup>80</sup> Mrs. Humphreys also recalled that one night by accident she found herself alone at home without a key to the front door. "Eerie tales told us by Mrs. Kewen flitted through my mind—how she wrapped herself in a sheet when Mr. Kewen was away, and with a lighted candle in her hand walked through the garden at midnight, hoping the Indians would think the place haunted and so, leave her alone."<sup>81</sup> Fortunately, she was able to break in and spend the night undisturbed. This story goes far to explain the legend of ghosts that is sometimes told about the Old Mill.

When the Kewen family returned to El Molino Viejo after the colonel's term in the assembly, they found that they were not yet through with litigation about ownership of their property. Records show that a deed signed by William Workman, Joseph L. Brent, Murray Morrison, and Volney E. Howard, dated June 2, 1869, was filed in which they agreed to sell, release, and quitclaim the "land situated in Mission San Gabriel, embraced in the claim of said Mission containing one hundred and sixty acres, more or less, and known as the 'Old Mill Site'." Payments were to be at the rate of \$20.00 per acre. The deed continued: "It is further agreed by and between the aforesaid parties that upon the final confirmation by the Supreme Court of the United States of the San Gabriel Mission claim of which the above-mentioned tract is a part, first parties will make and execute to second party (Kewen) . . . a good and sufficient Deed of Conveyance to all or any part of said land belonging to and being a part of the said Mission claim now claimed to be owned by first parties."<sup>82</sup> Once Kewen paid his \$320,

*Perhaps because John Edward Hollenbeck (right) suffered in Nicaragua at the hands of the insurgent forces to which Kewen belonged, Hollenbeck foreclosed on the debt-ridden Kewens and owned but never lived at El Molino for a year.*



he appeared to have had no further trouble over his ownership of El Molino Viejo, although he found it necessary in the 1870's to establish preemptive right to hold lands in California.<sup>83</sup>

Towards the end of the colonel's life, the family found itself in financial difficulties, and in 1877 he was forced to borrow the sum of \$20,000 from John Edward Hollenbeck.<sup>84</sup> This act was to bring to an end the decades of ownership by the Kewen family of the Old Mill.

The Hollenbeck family itself had a history of financial ups and downs. They had lost almost all their possessions when they were captured by the insurgents in Nicaragua, and they had also suffered the loss of their only son, John Edward, Jr.<sup>85</sup>

In 1874, having reestablished himself successfully in Nicaragua, the forty-five-year-old Hollenbeck paid a visit with his wife to Los Angeles, a goal he had cherished for years. He found the city "astir with plans and prospects for the coming of the Southern Pacific railroad," which arrived September, 1876, when the first through train from San Francisco pulled into Los Angeles. He decided to sell all his property in Nicaragua and move to Los Angeles which he considered to have the "finest climate."<sup>86</sup>

The Hollenbecks returned with great happiness to settle in California in March of 1876. Regarding the Temple and Workman bank failure in September, 1875, he wrote, "I do not like the way Temple and Workman do business." At the same time he was said to be a generous man, "thoroughly and disinterestedly good and inclined to be helpful in all cases of need." His favorite texts were "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord," and "'What is it to serve God and do his will?' asks Martin Luther, and he replies 'It is nothing else than to show mercy to one's neighbor'."<sup>87</sup>

In view of these beliefs, it may seem surprising that Hollenbeck acted to foreclose financially on Colonel Kewen and end the two decades of Kewen ownership of El Molino Viejo. For some time, Colonel Kewen had advertised the sale of his ranch<sup>88</sup> as a way out of his financial difficulties, but he died on November 26, 1879, during a depression in real estate before he could sell the property and pay off the loan. Mrs. Kewen died only a few months later, and their only son, Colonel Perry Kewen, was left a property encumbered with debts rather than "a rich inheritance."<sup>89</sup>

It is a reasonable conclusion that the Hollenbeck's imprisonment and mistreatment in Nicaragua by the Walker forces, a group to which Kewen belonged, influenced Hollenbeck to take the property of El Molino Viejo and surrounding land in consideration of \$26,152.19 which he was owed. This sum included the interest, taxes, and legal fees. In the deed, dated February 5, 1880, the land is described as "the Old Mill Site or the Waite Place embraced in the claim of the Mission San Gabriel, bounded by the San Pasqual Ranch on the North, and on the East, by the possession of B. D. Wilson, and E. S. Hereford, and including about 4/5 of the Lake known as Lake Vineyard."<sup>90</sup>

Hollenbeck never lived at El Molino Viejo, and he owned the property for only a year before he found a new owner. Colonel Edward L. Mayberry bought the property in two parcels, one on April 25, 1881, for \$36,000 and the other on September 12, 1881, for \$8000.<sup>91</sup>



*Between 1880 and 1888, Fred Willis Gray managed the ranch at El Molino for Edward Mayberry and lived in the mill, photographed from the east in 1884. Gray's expectant wife stands on the porch.*



*In his retirement, Colonel Edward Mayberry, shown here with his son, Edward L., Jr., bought the Old Mill, built a bunkhouse for his ranch hands, and bred race horses on his estate.*

Edward Leodore Mayberry was born in Wyndham, Maine, in 1834 to a family of shipbuilders. Attracted by the gold rush, he left by clipper ship for California at the age of 21. During the voyage when the captain was washed overboard in a hurricane, Mayberry took command and brought the ship safely into port at San Francisco.<sup>92</sup> Just as the Huntington family found it more profitable to pursue another line of business rather than to search for gold, Mayberry put his talents to work in the building trades and formed a partnership with W. F. Whittier with





*Rescuing the Old Mill from the deterioration captured by photographer A. C. Vroman in 1895 (above), Henry E. Huntington (below) converted it to a golf-course clubhouse. Arabella Huntington (left) later purchased it in a vandalized state as a potential home for her son, Archer.*



whom he built many well-known buildings in Northern California. Deciding in 1876 to retire, he traveled by stagecoach to San Diego, looking along the way for a suitable place to settle. The San Gabriel area already described by so many travelers as an earthly paradise seemed like the perfect spot. He bought a house in Alhambra and from there looked for land upon which to settle. First he acquired 160 acres of railroad land, and then he acquired property from Hollenbeck which included El Molino Viejo, to make an estate of 420 acres.<sup>93</sup>

In 1905 Mayberry and his associates built the Hemet Dam in Riverside County and a road over the San Jacinto mountains in Riverside County. Although he did not live in the Old Mill himself, he used it for a few years as a dwelling for his ranch superintendent, built an adobe bunk house close by for his ranch hands, and erected his own elegant house on the hill above, later moved to the corner of Monterey Road and Oak Knoll, which also served as the first city hall of San Marino. He bred racehorses and maintained a small racetrack on his property.<sup>94</sup>

By 1895, however, the Old Mill was showing signs of neglect, as the photograph taken by noted California photographer Vroman clearly attests. That same year Mrs. Emily Gray Mayberry wrote an article for *The Land of Sunshine* in which she told how the "weather-gnawed walls of a gray ruin speak to the heart" and that there were "three wheel houses . . . with the masonry for storing and conducting the water all as firm as when constructed with the singular exception of one wall, in which is a crack running its full depth, caused by the earthquake of 1884 and visibly widened by that of 1894."<sup>95</sup> Mrs. Mayberry also recounted the story of a parchment describing in Greek where buried treasure lay hidden on the grounds of El Molino Viejo. This document, she explained, had been given eight or nine years previously by a Black to a young man who managed to decipher the secret. He, along with the son of the owner (who must have been Colonel Mayberry, from whom she was at that time divorced), began to dig for the treasure. The two were soon discovered by the foreman, and they filled in the hole rather than divulge what they were doing. Although the rumor of buried treasure persists and has been mentioned in many stories and articles about El Molino Viejo, if it had really existed on the grounds, it would surely have been found, either during the restoration or at some time since. To this day, however, no one has publicly acknowledged any such windfall.

As rumors of treasure persisted, the Huntington Land and Improvement Company acquired the property from the Mayberry family in 1903.<sup>96</sup> A few years later, recognizing the historic value of the Old Mill and concerned with the continuing vandalism by treasure seekers, Henry E. Huntington and his associates, especially his grounds superintendent, William Hertrich, had decided to arrange for a caretaker to live in the building when a more appropriate use occurred to them.<sup>97</sup> At about the same time, the Huntington Land and Improvement Company had purchased the half-finished Wentworth Hotel which had gone into receivership. In 1914 it opened officially as the Huntington Hotel and boasted a golf course for the enjoyment of its guests. The Old Mill, only a half a mile away, was the obvious place for a club house, and it was consequently renovated and refurnished for this purpose.<sup>98</sup> Huntington's architect, Myron Hunt, removed the additions, pulled off the shingles with which past owners had replaced the original mission tile roof, and replaced them with tiles from an old adobe in Santa Bar-

bara. He added a third buttress on the northeast corner to stabilize the building against earthquakes and repaired the earthquake damage mentioned by Mrs. Mayberry in the 1890's.

Later, Mr. Huntington sold the hotel property, and the golf course was subdivided. According to William Hertrich, "Although certain interests wished to maintain the Old Mill as a high class drinking establishment, that idea was promptly disapproved." (A recent female visitor to the Old Mill recalled that she had spent a happy day motoring to the site and partaking of a drink for which the mill was noted—an "orange blossom" made of gin and orange juice.) Hertrich continued: "Once more we padlocked the building, but soon after thieves broke in and robbed the Old Mill of its fixtures, including the automatic water heater."<sup>99</sup> Fortunately, Arabella Huntington then bought the property with the idea of building a Spanish-style house for herself and connecting it with an archway to the Old Mill which would be turned into a residence for her son Archer. This plan never materialized, however, and on her death in 1924, she left the property to Archer.<sup>100</sup>

Archer Huntington lived in New York and had no plans of settling in California, but he, too, was concerned about the preservation of El Molino Viejo. When the James Brehms (Mrs. Brehm was formerly the widow of Henry Huntington's only son, Howard) decided to restore the mill as a residence and asked Archer if they could acquire the property, there was an exchange of telegrams and letters culminating in a wire from James Brehm on May 6, 1927, offering as a price for the mill \$27,000.<sup>101</sup> A letter from Archer to Mrs. Brehm, dated June 11, 1927, read: "I am delighted that you and your husband like the idea of the transfer of the Old Mill. I have asked the lawyers to attend to the matter; naturally there will be a condition that the old building is not to be torn down. . . ." In the course of final negotiations about the transfer of the property, it was discovered that a small amount of additional land was needed to provide suitable surroundings for the mill, and this was added to the transaction.<sup>102</sup>

Now came the serious work of rescuing the Old Mill from a truly dilapidated state. There are many people living in the Pasadena-San Marino area today who remember playing in and around the Old Mill as children and tell of the constant vandalism and deterioration of the building. To save it, the Brehms called in a building contractor named Frederick H. Ruppel, who had a great interest in historic buildings and who had supervised the restoration of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Ruppel studied the old Spanish building methods and techniques, as well as Indian lore and motifs, and he used them all at El Molino Viejo, converting the old building into an attractive home while retaining the design of the padres. Recognizing the beauty of the old design, historian Rexford Newcomb wrote: "The simple proportions of this staunch old structure are admirable and the building reflects in every detail the good taste of the padres whose architectural creed seems always to have been simplicity, strength and beauty."<sup>103</sup>

Ruppel described the state of the building that he was called upon to restore as "a desolate, filthy, unsafe structural shambles, severely fractured (which) would soon disintegrate with neglect." Beginning the job, he "first removed the filth and the various interior and exterior abortive partitions, lean-tos, etc., and peeled the structural chassis down to the original, eliminating everything added subsequently to its original purpose—a grist mill."<sup>104</sup>





*Mr. and Mrs. James Brehm (above left) acquired El Molino from Archer Huntington (left), who never lived at the mill, and then called upon Frederick H. Ruppel (above), the building contractor who had supervised the restoration of Mission San Juan Capistrano, to restore it with original techniques and motifs to the design of the padres.*



Investigating further, Ruppel found that the two wheel chambers on the east side were completely separate from each other with no communication between them. He cut through this solid masonry and provided a dining room with an arched ceiling and also added a stairway to the upper floor, confirming that there had previously been no inside staircase. (He felt that Rexford Newcomb had erroneously drawn up a floor plan of El Molino Viejo which included an interior staircase. Ruppel stated categorically that there was no such thing when he did the restoration, though he did find remnants of a ship's ladder.)<sup>105</sup> The lack of an inside staircase and the discovery of a spring which in wet weather flowed out at a rate of ten gallons a minute through the northeast corner of the building (there is still a pipe dating from mission days in the buttress on this corner) makes it clear

that none of the residents of the mill would have enjoyed using the lower portion of it for living quarters.

Ruppel maintained that the southerly water wheel on the east side was more likely to have been in operating condition than that on the north side and that the third raceway leading from the square-shaped cistern on the south side in what is now the office had not been used because of earthquake damage to the cistern. Interestingly, this theory raises more questions about the date of construction of the building, since the earthquake that did so much damage to the San Gabriel Mission occurred in 1812. Perhaps the mill was under construction in 1812 and not completed until 1816? This would account for the damage to the cistern.

Only one set of millstones connected with El Molino Viejo has ever been found. These were discovered by Mr. Hertrich in a pile of rubbish on the Huntington grounds after General George S. Patton, a neighbor of the Brehms who had lived in the area as a small boy, had remembered seeing them used as a mounting block on the adjoining Shorb Ranch.<sup>106</sup> Dr. Arden Albee of the geology department at California Institute of Technology confirmed that the discovered stones were made of vesicular basalt, a material not found locally, but possibly native to Mexico or brought over by ship from Spain as ballast. It used to be thought that the millstones were geologically the same as the heavy foundation stones of the mill, but Dr. Albee ascertained that the latter were of tuff, a volcanic agglomerate found locally either in the Glendora or the Sunland-Tujunga area, rather than of tufa, as previous writers had thought.<sup>107</sup>

In the course of his excavations in 1927–28, Ruppel discovered the remnants of the pine wheel shaft, which, sadly, rotted upon exposure to the air. It carried marks as if a leather thong (*riata*) had been wrapped around it, which he hypo-



*Mrs. Albert E. Doerr (left, photographed in 1973) and her husband and son Michael (below, photographed in 1932) lived at the Old Mill for a number of years. Mrs. Doerr is a member of the Advisory Committee for El Molino Viejo and a CHS member.*



thesized would have been pulled, as one pulls the cord of a gyroscope, to start the water wheel.<sup>108</sup> Such a method of starting the water wheel does not appear to be described in any of the literature concerning other water-powered grist mills,<sup>109</sup> though this does not totally preclude the possibility of using such a system at El Molino Viejo. Alternatively, perhaps the marks on the shaft were caused instead by supporting metal bands such as those on the wheel shafts at Mission San Antonio near Jolon, California, or at San José in Texas. Water was much more plentiful in those early days, and a full fifteen-foot funnel-shaped cistern would have provided considerable pressure, although, as previously noted, the supply was not unexhaustible.

Ruppel also discovered, and preserved, in the wheel chamber two square-shaped niches, originally lined with wood and tallow, one of which would have contained a wooden lever to open and shut the sluice gate, and the other a wooden flume spout out of which poured the water. Identical niches appeared on the back walls of both raceways, but Ruppel eliminated the southeast ones in order to provide a fireplace for the dining room. Over the fireplace he painted the Franciscan motto "Deus, Meus et Omnia." (Ruppel's version reads "Deaus, Meaus et ommia," which he recently explained had been copied from a version found at San Juan Capistrano, "vague and covered by many layers of whitewash from the secularization period abuses. I fancy the original neophyte at Capistrano used poetic license or perhaps tipped too often or too much of the good sacramental wine. Human error or design does occur many times in history.")<sup>110</sup>

Ruppel also left visible an upright aperture in the wall which had originally housed the heavy timbers supporting the machinery. These timbers had unfortunately rotted by the time of the restoration, but a picture on the reconstructed water wheel at Mission San Antonio's grist mill, built in 1806, gives an excellent idea of how the one at El Molino Viejo might have operated.

Speaking many years after he had completed his labors at El Molino Viejo, Ruppel admired highly the superb joinery and masonry practices employed by the padres, despite the most primitive of tools.<sup>111</sup> His labor of love is greatly appreciated today, as is the generosity of the Brehms who saved the building for posterity. Following completion of the restoration, formal gardens including a wishing well were planted by Katherine Bashford.

After the restoration of the Old Mill the building was occupied by a number of tenants. Dr. and Mrs. Rindlaub were the first to live there for a brief period and, from 1931 to 1936, it was the home of a Huntington granddaughter and her husband and infant son, Mr. and Mrs. Albert E. Doerr.

Other families enjoyed living in the mill until 1962 when the Brehms died. Under the terms of James Brehm's will, the property was left to the City of San Marino on the condition that it be maintained and preserved as a historical landmark. Failing acceptance by the city, the Old Mill was to be given to the state.

The mayor of San Marino then appointed a committee to determine how the building and grounds should best be used. After three years of investigation, they invited the California Historical Society to move its Southern California headquarters to El Molino Viejo. The Society provides staff, develops and maintains exhibits and programs, and fosters the Old Mill as a place of historic value. In addition to the Society, other groups have contributed and are still contributing





*The Old Mill is cherished, revitalized, and open to the public. Photograph from the south side by Roger Conrad.*

to the enhancement of the landscaping of the grounds at El Molino Viejo (much of which has been designed and executed by Jessie Murray, and in which, as far as possible, only native plants are grown). These groups include the San Marino Garden Club, the Diggers, and the Pasadena Garden Club. The San Marino Garden Club also provides docents who lead tours of the building and grounds.

The original mayor's committee was disbanded, and in 1969 a new advisory committee for El Molino Viejo was appointed by the mayor. In 1972 a support group—the Friends of the Old Mill—whose primary purpose is the preservation of the building was founded in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the city's acquisition of the mill.

The padres and Indians who toiled to construct this lovely old building might be very happy if they could see how it is cherished, appreciated and used today.

THE PHOTOGRAPH on page 143 is courtesy Security Pacific National Bank; page 146 (top), courtesy the University of Texas; page 147, courtesy Mission San Antonio; pages 150 and 151, courtesy Huntington Library; page 153 (bottom), courtesy Mrs. Beatrice Humason; page 154 (bottom and left), 157 (top), and 158, courtesy Mrs. Albert E. Doerr; and page 157 (right), courtesy Frederick Ruppel. The map on page 140 was reproduced by Robert Becker; the mill cross-section drawing is by Judith Flodin. The remainder of the photographs are in the society's collection.

#### NOTES

1. For example, R. W. C. Farnsworth, comp., *A Southern California Paradise*, 20–22 (Pasadena, 1883); and Charles F. Holder, *Southern California: A Guide Book*, 95–96 (Los Angeles, 1888).

2. Elizabeth Gore Miller's *Romances of the California Mission Days*, 49–60 (Portland, Maine, 1905), contained a chapter called "Tragedy at the Old Mill." This legend focused on the Romeo and Juliet-type romance of two young lovers, Ricardo and Marquita, and the tragic death of Marquita, which resulted in her father putting a curse on the mill.

3. Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 42 (Pasadena, 1895). Reid's history is valuable in that he interviewed many of the early pioneers in the area and obtained from them their information on El Molino Viejo.

4. Robert Glass Cleland, *El Molino Viejo* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, Revised edition 1971). See also, Glenn S. Dumke, "The Masters of San Gabriel Mission's Old Mill," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV:259–265 (September, 1966). Because Cleland's work contains detailed information on the institution of the mission, conditions of the Indians, and mission personnel, the authors have not recounted these aspects in this article.

5. For biographical information on Zalvidea, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, V:621–22, and Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848*, 266–69 (San Marino, 1966).

6. Holder, *All About Pasadena and Its Vicinity*, 60 (Boston, 1889).

7. In addition to the 1816 report, other annual reports mention the building of mills. In 1820, the report states: "Two mills were commenced, one a water-mill for grinding flour." The 1823 translation reads: "A mill was also completed for grinding wheat." Again, the 1825 report states: "In 1825, a mill for grinding wheat and another for sawing wood were completed. Both were operated by water-power." Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 112, 144 (San Gabriel; 1927).

8. *Ibid.*, 107. Frank B. Houghton, in *The History of the Mission San Gabriel Arcangel*, 8 (n.p., 1939), interpreted the statement in another way: "In 1816, two more buildings were put up of

adobe and roofed with tiles. One of these was to serve as a mill, the remains of which may still be seen opposite the old mission." Houghton was probably referring to Joseph Chapman's mill.

9. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 42.

10. Frederick James Dennis, "A Pioneer Among Water Wheels," *Touring Topics*, XXII:19, 36 (February, 1932). Actually, the horizontal water wheel can be traced to the first century A.D. Martha and Murray Zimiles, *Early American Mills*, 11 (New York, 1973).

11. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII:568, and Eulalia Pérez de Guillen, "Keeper of the Keys," trans. by Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *Touring Topics*, XIX:26 (January, 1929).

12. Alexander Taylor, "The Indianology of California," *California Farmer*, February 1, 1861, p. 170.

13. *Ibid.*

14. White, for example, said, "He was in the full sense of the word a saint." Michael C. White, *California All the Way Back to 1828*, 92 (Los Angeles, 1956).

15. Hugo Reid, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, ed. by Robert F. Heizer, 82 (Los Angeles, 1968).

16. *Ibid.*, 83.

17. Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 42, 394.

18. For an excellent description of primitive mission milling devices, see Edith Buckman Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 150-52 (Los Angeles, 1952).

19. The best example of a reconstructed Spanish-style mill in California is at Mission San Antonio de Padua. It was built in 1806. Others are at Mission San José de Bexar, Bexar County, Texas, and the water-power grist mill at Villanueva, New Mexico. Accounts of the workings of California mills may be found in Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California*, 261-62 (London, 1839), and "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827-28," translated by Charles Franklin Carter, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII:160-61 (June, 1929). The best sources on Spanish mills are Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 149-167, and A. T. Jackson, *Mills of Yesteryear*, 5-13 (El Paso, 1971).

20. Jackson, *Mills of Yesteryear*, 6.

21. The annual report of 1805 for San Luis Obispo states: "A grist mill was erected for water power." Engelhardt, *Mission San Luis Obispo*, 44 (Santa Barbara, 1933). At Mission San Antonio the report reads: "A most important work was done in 1806, when a water power mill was constructed." Engelhardt, *San Antonio de Padua*, 27 (Santa Barbara, 1929).

22. Bancroft, *History of California*, I-496-97; Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 153-54.

23. The tub mill was the precursor of the hydraulic turbine. For a lucid technical description of the advantages and disadvantages of tub mills, see Edward P. Hamilton, *The Village Mill in Early New England*, 19-20 (Sturbridge, Mass., 1964).

24. Taylor, "The Indianology of California," 170, and Thomas Workman Temple III, "Don Claudio Lopez," *Bulletin of the Old Mission Parish* (San Gabriel), August 22, 1965, p. 1.

25. Hugo Reid, *Indians of Southern California*, 80; Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 42, 391; and Dennis, "A Pioneer Among Water Wheels," 36.

26. Little is known about Ramirez, and there is no direct evidence that he worked on the mill. Of course, the same could be said for Lopez. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 127, and Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 130.

27. Cleland, *El Molino Viejo*, 10-11.

28. Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 391.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Rexford Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California*, 194 (Philadelphia, 1925).

31. *Ibid.*, 195.

32. See Forbes, *History of California*, 261-62.

33. Jackson, *Mills of Yesteryear*, 7.

34. H. B. Lynch, *Rainfall and Stream Run-off in Southern California Since 1769*, 4 (Los Angeles, 1931).

35. Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 391, speculates that the mill was abandoned because water splashing against the wheel would spiral up the shaft and dampen the freshly ground grain. Other mills of this same design, however, do not mention this problem.



36. The padres at San Luis Obispo reported that the water-powered grist mill was repaired in 1812. They do not say what the problem was. Engelhardt, *Mission San Luis Obispo*, page 56.
37. Jackson, *Mills of Yesteryear*, 7.
38. Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 391.
39. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:568.
40. There is a photostatic copy of the design Chapman used at Mission Santa Ines. The document is dated December 19, 1820. Alexander S. Taylor Collection, Huntington Library, Vol. III, Pt. 1, items 92 and 93.
41. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:568.
42. Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 156, and Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 144.
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 What I could deem of mortal birth  
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 She seemed of Heaven and not of earth. . . .

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81. *Ibid.*, 90.
82. Title Insurance & Trust Co., Los Angeles, Deed Book 13, p. 450, No. 297.
83. Agricultural College land Scrip No. 389, patent to hold land granted Sept. 12, 1871 to E. J. C. Kewen, and preemption affidavits and proofs issued at Los Angeles, signed by E. J. C. Kewen, and dated March 24, 1873 and June 8, 1876.
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85. John died on July 3, 1857, of diphtheria in Pecatonica, Illinois, at the home of paternal grandparents. Young, *The History of the Hollenbeck Home*, 21.
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88. Advertisement in the *Los Angeles Daily Herald* for sale of El Molino Ranch, March 12, 1878, p. 1.
89. Davis, *Illustrated History of Sacramento*, 372-373.
90. Title Insurance & Trust Co., Los Angeles, Deed Book 71, p. 604, No. 337.
91. Title Insurance & Trust Co., Los Angeles, Deed Book 78, p. 524, No. 289 and Deed Book 82, p. 193, No. 124.
92. Unpublished reminiscence of Mrs. Beatrice Mayberry Humason, granddaughter of Colonel Edward Mayberry and daughter of his son, Harry. On December 17, 1870, Col. Mayberry married Mrs. Emily Jane (Gray) Wing, a childhood sweetheart who crossed the plains in 1869 with her two-year-old son Harry whom the colonel later adopted.
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94. *Ibid.*, 4.
95. Emily Gray Mayberry, "El Molino Viejo," *The Land of Sunshine*, 3:59-62 (Los Angeles, June 1895).
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102. From documents belonging to Harriet Huntington Doerr.
103. Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California*, 198.
104. Letter from F. H. Ruppel to Jean Bruce Ward, September 28, 1973.
105. *Ibid.*
106. Cleland, *El Molino Viejo*, 57.
107. Letter to Jean Bruce Ward from Dr. Arden Albee, August 28, 1973.
108. Cleland, *El Molino Viejo*, 53.
109. See A. T. Jackson, E. Buckland Webb and contemporary reports cited previously.
110. Letter from F. H. Ruppel to Jean Bruce Ward, September 28, 1973.
111. Transcript of a talk by F. H. Ruppel to members of the Old Mill Program Committee and other interested persons, April 8, 1963.

# Sunny Jim Rolph: The First “Mayor of All the People”

MOSES RISCHIN

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IN 1776 WHEN THE SAN FRANCISCO MISSION AND PRESIDIO were being laid out, the American English of the Thirteen United States of America in General Congress Assembled by Unanimous Declaration absolved themselves of all ties with the British Empire, the Crown, and the City of London. Curiously and almost imperceptibly, in 1911, almost a century-and-a-half later, the city of San Francisco, Pacific outpost become gateway of American empire, revived the monarchical principle beneath the banner of progressivism, announced itself a metropolis, and elected the first American Lord Mayor.

No one was better prepared for coronation than Sunny Jim Rolph. Elected to office for five successive terms, this native San Franciscan of British parentage radiated an imperial aplomb, a regal splendor, and a western metropolitan dash that identified him as the city's incomparable “Mr. San Francisco.” Racking up ever mounting majorities, he became the monarch of American mayors, sooner or later gaining the endorsement of every one of his rivals even while every major newspaper, including the *Chronicle*, deferred to him by denying support to his opponents. Only a near plebiscite that swept the popular Rolph into the governor's mansion in 1930 in what proved to be a grim climax to his political career, denied the hereditary mayor life sovereignty as the city's constitutional caliph. But, by being able to designate his successor and Crown Prince, Angelo Rossi, Rolph extended his reign to thirty-two years, outmatching in its continuity the classic dynasty of the Virginia founding fathers upon which John Adams' presidency intruded. Indeed, the Rolph dynasty proved as essential in giving continuity and veracity to the new San Francisco as the Virginia presidency proved critical in giving stability to the new American nation.

“The Mayor of All the People,” as Rolph proclaimed himself, was an original on the American urban scene and the first modern American mayor. Like many a twentieth-century big city mayor, Sunny Jim was a freshly-minted American, born in 1869, one year after his parents debarked from a Pacific mail liner. But unlike other highly visible sons of immigrants, young Rolph was virtually invisible and unself-conscious, a special blend of new American and very old American, even claiming descent from John Rolfe and Pocahontas. When he became quite aware of the unique political assets that birth, ancestry, and circum-



stances endowed him, we do not quite know. But from the outset, he was emphatically an insider, a Tory democrat thoroughly at home in San Francisco to which his romantic young parents had come and eager to turn it into the world town that it was to become.

Rolph's ultra-urbanity and love of city came easily and thoroughly. By contrast with so many of his contemporaries, great cities were his by heritage, especially London, the greatest city of them all. His London-born father and Edinburgh-born mother climaxed their shipboard love affair with marriage at Trinity Episcopal Church on Union Square; then the elder Rolph proceeded to California and Sansome streets to begin his lifelong, if modest, association with the then financial colossus of the West, the Bank of California. Shortly, he also became the San Francisco agent for the London shipping firm of John Black and Company of which his brother, Augustus, was a member. Soon after laying the foundations for his unborn son's far-reaching maritime ventures, the elder Rolph quite unknowingly set the stage for his eldest son's unique political career as well by acquiring an urban homestead on the Twenty-first Street hill near Guerrero in the Mission, the quarter south of the slot destined to become the city's central working-class district.

These business and domestic arrangements nurtured the energetic and gregarious young Rolph. The combination of commercial access and broad social exposure would dispose this graduate both of the public schools and of Trinity Academy to a career that would wed private fortune to public service in a style that would be his Anglo-California own, a blend of Victorian and Edwardian Britain that merged with the era of Teddy Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, his favorite statesmen.

Rolph began his notable business career in the fabled fashion of Horatio Alger and Samuel Smiles. Successively newsboy, peddler of the family's home-raised poultry, cashboy at Keane Brothers drygoods store, officeboy at S. B. Wakefield Brokers, and messenger for the De Witt Kittle Shipping Company, in 1898 Rolph joined with a classmate to found the shipping firm, Hind, Rolph and Company.

*In his first mayoral term, Sunny Jim struck the non-partisan keynote of his reign, billing himself as World's Fair mayor of the phoenix city and dedicating a plaque to the opera singer, Luisa Tetrazzini, at the corner of Market, Kearny, and Geary.*





*A man of tremendous self-confidence and good humor, Rolph felt equally at ease greeting visiting dignitaries in top hat (above), waving the starting flag at the 1929 dog-sled derby in Truckee in an Eskimo parka (right), or donning an Indian headdress on the steps of a public building (below).*







*Generous with his millions, Rolph supported the Shriners' work with crippled children (top, c. 1925). The city's strongest booster, he urged the development of a civic-center complex, turning the first shovel of dirt in 1928 for the war memorial building group (above), laying the cornerstone in 1913 for the city hall (right), and, again, turning earth for an unidentified 1927 project (below).*





By 1906, he had organized the Mission Bank, had become president of the Mission Improvement Association, was approaching his first million, and was on his way to becoming organizer and president of the Rolph Navigation and Coal Company, agent of the New Zealand Steamship Company, thrice president of the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific and the Merchants' Exchange (predecessor to the Chamber of Commerce), and builder and operator of his own ships named the *Annie Reid*, the *Annette Rolph*, and the *Georgina Rolph* after his wife and daughters. At his shipyards, Rolph employed only union men and honored the closed shop, showing a friendliness to labor unusual for that time.

Clearly the elegant shipping magnate and banker awaited a call to public service for which both his business associates on California Street and his boyhood companions in the Mission knew that he was uniquely endowed. That time came in 1906. Uniting San Francisco as had no other event in its history, the earthquake and fire catapulted the head of the Mission Relief Committee into public life. The politics of corruption, reform, prosecution, and ineffectuality that followed spurred the cry for the dapper man on horseback. More than ever, the man who directed relief astride a white steed seemed the shining English knight to rescue the shattered city by radiating cheer and confidence in a new San Francisco rather than by slaying old political dragons. After turning down the Republican nomination for mayor two years earlier when he headed the Portola festival, in 1911 and in the first election to be held under the new non-partisan law, "Plain Jim Rolph of the Mission" accepted the bid of the non-partisan Municipal Conference. In a campaign that looked forward to the Panama Pacific International Exposition, this registered nonpartisan Republican called for honesty, morality, and beauty and won handsomely, defeating the incumbent, P. H. McCarthy, even in his own district. Supported by a board of supervisors, seventeen of whose eighteen members were businessmen, Rolph came into office with an explicit mandate to lead San Francisco to greatness.

In a tenure without parallel in the city's annals, Sunny Jim proved singularly attuned to the human needs of a new San Francisco as it moved from nineteenth-century provincialism to twentieth-century metropolitanism. In a community that feared polarization and that was repelled by its own sordid history of mob and vigilante violence, political corruption, and labor unrest, Rolph pledged himself to be "Mayor of All the People," employees as well as employers, unemployed as well as employed. In March, 1930, in his last year in office, he invited Communist unemployment-day demonstrators into his chambers for a friendly discussion at the very time they were being clubbed by police officers from New York to Los Angeles.

In a city of many interests and peoples, divisive public issues were to be absorbed fraternally as Rolph himself assimilated differences of religion, nationality, race, custom, and culture. "He was Scotch, he was English, he was American—and with no trouble at all, he could tie in with the Swedes, the Germans, the Italians, or even the Czechoslovakians," exulted Rolph's biographer. The Irish, whom he could regale by calling off the names of all the counties in the Emerald Isle, were among his intimate political associates from the beginning. "Matt" Sullivan, law partner of Hiram Johnson and later Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, Theodore Roche, and Eustace Cullinan were his closest ad-

visers and members of his "Kitchen Cabinet." To them he had paid tribute as early as 1903 when he returned from a visit to Ireland bearing an entire travelogue with stereopticon accompaniment. During World War I and in the twenties, in a nation torn by dissension and prone to hysteria, he was incapable of enmity towards anyone, recalled George Hosokawa, dealer in Oriental art. As bountiful in purse as he was in heart, he dispensed love lavishly, generously, and indiscriminately. In 1916 when the city's first African Methodist Episcopal Church found itself in financial straits, the mayor quietly contributed \$1700 to lift the mortgage. Reputedly, Rolph could go through the rituals of any denomination without a slip. "He could attend a Catholic mass and tell you when to sit and when to stand better than you knew yourself," recalled Andrew Gallagher, his friend and rival. In 1913, Sunny Jim extended the same recognition to Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kipur as had been accorded Good Friday and some years later, in an unusual tribute, was elected an honorary member of a synagogue. Indeed, only at the climax of the Klan excitement, which passed San Francisco by, did hosts of Rolph's Protestant admirers learn for the first time that this intimate of Archbishop Hanna and scores of parish priests was a non-Catholic as they watched the genial friend of all mankind pass by in a Shrine convention parade. A perennial babykisser, a tireless parader, and a would-be close personal friend of every San Francisco voter, Rolph proved a tonic because no one doubted his personal integrity or emotional sincerity. Like them, he celebrated a lifelong infatuation with his city and theirs in pageant, in festival, and in song. When at the Hunters' Point Drydock the mayor crawled under the hull of a big steamship in the slimy tangle of grass, mussels, bait, worms, lizzards, and crabs, he was greeted on his emergence by the cheers of a gang of strange ship painters: "Smile with Sunny Jim"—"Happy Days Are Here Again."

For nineteen years, the mayor's popularity and good fellowship gave shape to an era of good feeling that was pervasive. He, like San Francisco, appeared a phoenix rising from the flames and ashes to reign over an ever more splendid city in love with itself, to build its generously planned new civic center, to commemorate its direct link with the Atlantic at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, to further professionalize civil service, to acquire the Spring Valley



*A friend of film stars, workers, and politicians including Jimmy Walker (left), dapper mayor of New York who visited Rolph in 1928 wearing his famed spats (Rolph always wore high boots), Rolph died in 1934, and the city responded with one of its largest funerals. Mourners lingered outside his former home on San Jose Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street in the Mission district (opposite) for several days.*

Water Company and launch the Hetch-Hetchy Water System, to inaugurate in motorman's cap the nation's first municipally owned car service, and to aspire to the public distribution of power.

And he did it all with the energy, kindness, zest, and physical courage of a princely cowboy, smoking only "Lords of England" cigars, ordering lunches of Westphalian hams, pheasants and hors d'oeuvres for his hunting trips from the Pacific Union Club, and on Nob Hill chiding stuffier fellow club men, "I'll bet . . . I'm the only member of the Garbage Men's Union." When the charge was made that the workmanship on the steel frame of the new city hall was below standard, Rolph, ever a defender of municipal integrity, confounded his critics by donning old pioneer boots and balancing his way to the end of a girder that projected out 100 feet over Van Ness Avenue in a personal inspection tour. And when the city hall was dedicated, the mayor ascended alongside the dome, boots, carnation and all, to hoist the American flag at the tip, 16 feet 2-5/8 inches higher than the dome of the national capitol, a datum with which he would habitually astound visiting dignitaries from the Mayor of Dubuque to the Shah of Iran as they craned their necks to the near snapping point to catch the added height. Nor did he hesitate to tell a great crowd on November 27, 1915, two days before the closing of the remarkably successful Panama Pacific Exposition, how their genial South of Market Street Mayor had "attended all the days, sung every nation's praise, collected souvenirs from Alaska to Algiers, from Cuba to the beach of Waikiki, but no matter where I am, be it Sydney or Siam, San Francisco, you're Home Sweet Home to me."





Indeed, in tall silk hat, gray-striped trousers, polished high boots, frock coat with a boutonniere in the lapel, or with decorations on his breast from Japan's Imperial Order of the Rising Sun to France's Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, "Plain Jim Rolph of the Mission" was civic urbanity incarnate, an exalted folksy potentate of all the Odd Fellows, Masons and Elks, Hibernians and B'nai Briths, and dozens of other associations. A \$500-per-month mayor, the openhanded millionaire never failed in his generosity to his subordinates while surrounding himself with advisers and associates that were the pride of the city in their breadth of view and their variety of interests, resources, and abilities. Leaving the formulation of programs and policies to others, Rolph provided the neutral harmonizing force, the vital human amalgam around whom all San Franciscans converged and without which no city can truly live and thrive.

The most picturesque and convivial figure ever to appear on the California political scene, the "Mayor of all the People" had become a symbol of the city's quest for civic solidarity, for regeneration, and for international recognition as the metropolitan showcase of the Pacific. A broad tolerance, a mounting population, the building of schools, the construction of parks and playgrounds, the public beneficence of the city's patricians, and the elaboration of those features of the cityscape that were the prime urban legacy of the new San Francisco that serve into our own time are associated with his years in office. The civic center that was planned, the city hall, civic auditorium, and public library that were completed, and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition commemorated the City Beautiful, the City International, and the City Efficient. As showman, greeter, and host to the world, Rolph personified the city's most romantic vision of itself even when his comprehension of governmental problems, particularly in his handling of the power issue, was often seriously disputed. Only New York's very different Fiorello H. LaGuardia has rivaled Rolph as a symbol of the human and communal possibilities of the modern great city.

THE PHOTOS on pages 166 (left), 167 (right), 168 (left and bottom), 170 and 171 are from the Special Collections department of the San Francisco Public Library. The others are in the Society's collection.

# REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

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## Carey McWilliams: Reformer as Historian

Carey McWilliams is beginning to receive the scholarly attention he has long deserved. One graduate student, Joseph Navarro of the University of California, Santa Barbara, is writing a doctoral dissertation on his works, and another, Zoe Feliz, at California State University, San Jose, is preparing a complete bibliography of his writings. In recent years, several new editions of Mr. McWilliams' early works have been reprinted as paperbacks. Therefore it is fitting that the *Quarterly* should include a retrospective on the works of this controversial author who has done so much to stimulate debate on crucial questions of social justice in California history.

Mr. McWilliams was born in Steamboat Springs, Colorado, in 1905. As a young man he moved to Los Angeles and received a law degree from the University of Southern California in 1927. He practiced law in Los Angeles from 1927 to 1938, and from 1938 to 1942 he served as State Commissioner of Immigration and Housing under Democratic Governor Culbert Olson. In 1945, Mr. McWilliams began his long association with *The Nation* magazine in New York, a thin, unassuming periodical which was first to publish such diverse writers as James Baldwin and Ralph Nader and which consistently has explored controversial ideas and issues years in advance of other news publications. Mr. McWilliams served as contributing editor at *The Nation* from 1945 to 1951, associate editor in 1951 and 1952, editorial director from 1952 to 1955, and editor since 1955. Throughout the years Mr. McWilliams has been a prolific writer, frequently on the social and ethnic history of California and the West. Included in this issue's Reviews section are a sympathetic discussion of *Factories in the Fields*, Mr. McWilliams' first major book and one which created a governmental furor upon its publication, an excerpt from the author's foreword to the 1971 reprint edition of that work (published with the permission of Peregrine Smith Press), and a brief annotated bibliography of books by the ground-breaking historian-journalist. Editor's Note.

FACTORIES IN THE FIELD: THE STORY OF MIGRATORY FARM LABOR IN CALIFORNIA.  
By Carey McWilliams. (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Publishers,  
Inc., Reprint 1971. xxiv, 335 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95.)

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*Reviewed by* DAVID F. SELVIN, *editor of Northern California Labor, author of seven books on labor history, and teacher in the University of California—Merritt College labor and urban studies program.*

If there had been no Carey McWilliams back in the latter days of the 1930's, we would have had to invent one. How else to see in economic and historic perspective the long, bitter conflict that raged in California's golden valleys? How else to understand the repeated, insistent demand of farm workers for a decent wage? How else to account for the unyielding anger, the explosive violence with which the growers met the demand? And how else to fit this everlasting fountain of agricultural wealth into a total scheme of state and nation?

McWilliams' *Factories in the Field* offered answers at a moment when questions burned strong and bright. It was, in fact, the solid, follow-up right in a one-two com-

bination in 1939 that rocked California's farm barons to their toes. The lead had been a sharp, cutting left, *The Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck's visceral saga of the Joad family. Before the growers could recover from the blow, they were staggered by McWilliams. "Here is the data," the late University of California Professor Robert A. Brady welcomed him in *Books*, "that gives the terrible migration of the Joad family historical and economic meaning not only for the immediate present, but also for the larger canvas of American rural life at the end of a long, rich cycle." "The cold, horrible, statistical reality," added Ella Winter in the *New Republic*. The combination made the seldom visible migrant worker suddenly and starkly visible. And the finger of accusation pointed straight, without wavering, at the growers.

The growers countered with angry accusations of a communist plot. Steinbeck, too, was pounded by every manner of counter-attack including a feeble attempt at a counter-novel. But even then, the labels had begun to wear thin. Many, probably most—as McWilliams insisted—of the measures necessary to ending the misery and poverty of the farm workers stood within reach. A willingness seemed to be growing to look at their plight with understanding. But it was not to be.

Only weeks after *Factories* appeared, war erupted in Europe, and this nation, too, was soon engulfed in its fury. The Joads escaped their misery, but not because conditions in the valleys were suddenly better or their agricultural economy more sanely organized. The Joads, like many thousands of their neighbors, simply took jobs in Southern California aircraft plants. They had poured into California's valleys by the hundreds and thousands, refugees from the Dust Bowl. By the end of the 1930's they made up, for the first time in more than half a century, an overwhelming part of the farm work-force. McWilliams saw them as "American citizens familiar with the usages of a democracy" who would bring closer "a day of reckoning" for California's farm-lords. Before long, though, they were gone. The Mexicans who had worked the field

*Carey McWilliams served as Chief of the Division of Immigration and Housing for the State of California from 1938 to 1942, at which time this photo was taken.*





before the Great Depression returned and, oppressed by grower-manipulated wages and conditions, remained for the better part of another generation.

So much was made of the date-of-publication coincidence of *Grapes of Wrath* and *Factories in the Field* that McWilliams' main point was in danger of being lost or drastically watered down. The books were, each in its way, independent and eloquent responses to mutually-observed conditions. McWilliams rightly insists that he purposely subtitled his work "The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California," and the book must be read in that light. The war (II), the braceros, the unfettered profit-hunger of the growers frustrated the hopes cautiously voiced in its pages. But time has only underscored its underlying theme.

*Factories* put the grower-worker conflict into an understandable context. It pierced the pretense that California was—or is—a family-farm economy. It pegged corporate ownership, absentee growers, increasingly centralized controls—the essentially industrial relationship—as the keys to the exploitation of the migrant worker. It explored with unyielding insistence how farmlords exploited minority racial and ethnic groups, using racism and prejudice to sustain the poverty-wage structure of their industry and to free themselves, as far as possible, of economic or social responsibility for their exploited work force. It was, as McWilliams—and later, the LaFollette Committee—pointed out, a system founded on "a shocking degree of human misery." Only the exigencies of World War II rescued the growers from what seemed almost sure to be the most serious challenge in the state's history to their economic rule. With the help of an abiding government and the chained labor of the braceros. The "confrontation" McWilliams expected never took place.

The new edition of *Factories* is welcome and useful, though not for its predictions but for its portrayal of the farm workers' reality. It helped one generation—now, perhaps, others—to make sense of the chronicles of the Joads and of the growing volume of reportage that welled up from the misery in the fields, to see it all in a perspective that accorded with contemporary economic experience. This is more than one is entitled to expect—and a generous yield—from one book. But, happily, it hasn't ended there.

*Factories* was the first in the line of his books that brought a fresh, so urgently-needed approach to social history. In *Factories*, McWilliams wrote into California agricultural and labor history in bitter and painful detail the role of the Chinese, of the Japanese, the Hindus, the Filipinos, and the Mexicans. He continued to record their roles in *Ill Fares the Land*, *Brothers Under the Skin*, *North from Mexico*, and *A Mask for Privilege*. His concern for the over-looked and the ignored is reflected (along with much more, of course) in *California: The Great Exception* and in *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake: Peregrine Smith, Reprint 1973. xxviii, 387 pp. \$3.95). In his hands, racial minorities and ethnic communities broke through the solid ranks of the white, Anglo-Saxon, wealthy Protestants who wrote—and around whom is written—so much of our history. History as McWilliams wrote it lost its pallor and began to acquire a healthy, lifelike color. He made an important beginning—solid and substantial, but a beginning—in according racial and ethnic minorities their place in our history. A score of years passed before the task was taken up in full measure and more went by before it could be said that it was fully and honestly undertaken.

Now, in the golden valleys the old conflict rages yet. The embattled farm workers face their old foes: low wages, irregular work, poor housing, diminished educational opportunities, child labor, inadequate housing. The list is long, and, by now, it should be familiar. Behind them stand the growers. McWilliams, of course, plotted the battlefield and logged the order of battle.

But for now, too? For all time? Things change—not the least because California's

agriculture is spurred by the best research minds of the state's universities and by the growers' driving, relentless hunger for dividends. They may be the farm workers' enemies of old, but they are armed with modern weaponry. Technological advance threatens the worker's job where it has not already wiped it out. A square tomato makes possible a mechanized picker. Oversized motorized belts shake fruit from the trees in the way a lard-bottomed dowager vainly seeks to obliterate her fat. Handling reaches out from the packing sheds into the field. But, the growers are the same flinty corporations of old. Or are they? Other ranks of owners and managers take up defensive positions in depth: conglomerates, even greater concentrations of wealth, of economic power, of calculating management. And now, instead of one union, two contend for the farm worker's loyalty: Cesar Chavez and the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers and Frank Fitzsimmons' Teamsters. Where is legitimacy? Where is the farm workers' choice? Where is the farm workers' own choice?

What we need is another Carey McWilliams to examine these last thirty-five years, to revisit *Factories* and report again on how things are after all this time. We need a new accounting, with a balance sheet and a statement of profit—whose?—and loss—whose?—and with the people, most of all, appropriately accounted for. We need a fresh perspective and understanding that, once again, puts things in their proper relationship one with another. Where are you, Carey McWilliams, now that we need you—again.

### Carey McWilliams' *Foreword* to the 1971 reprint edition of *Factories in the Fields*.

*Reprinted with the permission of Peregrine Smith Press.*

*The Grapes of Wrath* and *Factories in the Field* were published in the spring of 1939 at approximately the same time, not through prearrangement and not quite by pure chance either. Both books, one might say, were cultural by-products of the dust bowl migration to California in the 1930's—one of the great migrations in our history in terms of volume, velocity, and distances travelled. While to some extent the so-called Okies and Arkies had been induced to move westward by misleading ads and notices, the great bulk of them were simply refugees from disaster—the disaster of dust and drought—moving in the only direction that seemed “open” or feasible, that is, westward. They came so rapidly and in such volume that by 1934 approximately half the farm labor supply in California was made up, for the first time, of native-born Americans, white, largely Protestant, and of Anglo-Saxon lineage. It seemed therefore, as I put it then, that “the jig is up,” at long last an historic confrontation was about to take place between large growers on the one hand and native-born workers on the other. The flare-up of large-scale farm labor strikes in the middle 1930's was a clear indication that the larger employers of farm labor would not be able to deal with dust bowl migrants—a notably independent group of former yeoman farmers—as they had dealt with the foreign-born workers they had recruited and exploited for so many years. Steinbeck was struck by the drama of the confrontation that seemed to be shaping up as well as by the biblical overtones of the great migration—thousands of refugee families moving across the desert to a promised land.

I too was impressed with the changes that began to take place in the farm labor scene in the late 1930's. I was also deeply moved by the saga of farm labor in California, the recruitment of one group and then another and their trials and tribulations in the

beautiful orchards and immense farm factories of the state. *Factories in the Fields* was deliberately subtitled "The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California" for I wanted to emphasize that I was telling a story as much as I was analyzing a problem. It was of course an old story in California by 1939 when the book was published. What gave it immediacy and dramatic interest was the dust bowl migration. In a sense the importance of the book was, and still is, that it was the first attempt to put together, as an ongoing narrative, the various chapters that constitute the fascinating saga of migratory farm labor in California.

Logically the story should have been told by someone more familiar with factory-style farming than I was in the 1930's. I was a fairly recent migrant to California myself, having moved to California from Colorado in the early 1920's. I got interested in farm labor more or less by chance. As a young lawyer in Los Angeles, I had been asked by the local A.C.L.U. on several occasions to defend Mexican citrus workers who had gone on strike. The experience was illuminating. I became quite curious about the structure of the citrus industry and what it was about it that produced such sharp employer-employee tensions in those seemingly placid citrus belt communities, outwardly so friendly, pious, and charming. The more I found out about labor in the citrus industry, the more curious I became about farm labor throughout the state. So I began to spend long hours in the library at nights and on weekends reading the files of the *Pacific Rural Press* and digging into other sources. And when I had a chance, I began to make forays into the San Joaquin Valley to see for myself just what went on in the fields and in the labor camps. Also I began to take an interest in the various ethnic minorities, Filipinos and Mexicans in particular, and to write about them. In July, 1933, for example, I did a piece for *The American Mercury* about the way in which Mexicans were being "repatriated" to Mexico in order to get them off the relief rolls. But my real education in farm labor began when I was appointed Chief, Division of Immigration and Housing in the state government. Someone had heard that I had written a book about farm labor—it had not yet been published—and so Governor Culbert L. Olson decided to appoint me to the post on the recommendation of George Kidwell, the San Francisco labor leader, and other political supporters. The appointment was made in January, 1939; *Factories in the Field* was not published until the spring of that year. The Division of Immigration and Housing was a unique agency that had been set up by Governor Hiram Johnson on the recommendation of Simon J. Lubin, a distinguished public figure with a long-standing interest in the problem of farm labor. The division had several functions, one of which was to enforce the state labor camp act. So in the next four years I was exposed to every aspect of the farm labor problem as I set about trying—with some

Chinese, Japanese, Hindus,  
Mexicans, Blacks, and Filipinos  
performed "stoop labor,"  
including cutting lettuce in the  
Salinas Valley (photo by  
Dorothea Lange, 1935), until  
the Oakies and Arkies  
displaced them.





success—to enforce the labor camp act; no serious effort to enforce it had been made for many years. I visited virtually every county and township in the state, inspecting all kinds of labor camps, mining camps, railroad camps, lumber camps, and farm labor camps. At the height of the harvest season, the farm labor camps would, for short periods, contain a population of around 160,000 men, women and children. Inspecting these camps was a memorable experience. It changed my point of view about a number of things.

It so happened—to turn back a bit—that *Factories in the Field* got caught up in the furious state-wide controversy that was touched off by publication of *The Grapes of Wrath*. The Associated Farmers, their friends and allies, were convinced that they were confronted by a left-wing conspiracy of some sort. They could not accept as fact the proposition that it was pure coincidence that the two books had been released at approximately the same time. As a matter of fact I never met John Steinbeck. Nor could they accept my appointment to head the Division of Immigration and Housing as the accident it was. The truth is that I was appointed because I was the only person known to the Governor and his advisors who was even *supposed* to know something about farm labor. In any case, the fire that was directed against *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Factories in the Field*—and their authors—certainly stimulated the sale of both books but, more important, it put the farm labor problem high on the California—and national—agenda for the first time. Here and there both books were burned or banned and I became, in the agitational material of the Associated Farmers, “Agricultural Pest No. 1 in California, outranking pear blight and boll weevil.” But the discussion and controversy did serve an important public purpose if only because it was a factor—perhaps the decisive factor—in bringing the La Follette Committee to California. The hearings of this committee so thoroughly exposed the anti-labor activities of the Associated Farmers that it never regained the power it had once exerted.

But for all the excitement of those years, the great confrontation that had been anticipated did not take place. World War II came along and the despised Okies and Arkies moved quickly into the shipyards and factories and, in no small degree, were responsible for the extraordinary economic expansion that took place. On October 12, 1942, Senator La Follette presented his report and recommendations on farm labor to the Senate, but by that time no one was listening. The recommendations have been ignored from that day to this. What some of us had thought would be a climactic phase of the farm labor story turned out to be merely another chapter. And since then of course there have been other chapters—the Di Giorgio strike, the *bracero* program, and the emergence of Cesar Chavez and the movement he heads.



When war-time industry pulled white workers out of the fields, Mexican laborers were brought in to produce America's food. The first braceros were photographed in 1943 in Stockton (right) as they arrived for the beet harvest and in Sacramento (left) as the Mexican consul urged them to give their best efforts.

## Bibliography of Books by Carey McWilliams

A full listing of Carey McWilliams' writing on the social and ethnic history of California and the West, including the many dozen articles published in journals and magazines, would cover many pages. Listed below are major books by the reformer who has been described in the past as "California's most controversial author."

*Ambrose Bierce: A Biography* (New York, 1929). A spirited analysis of the life of the great San Francisco journalist.

*Brothers Under the Skin* (Boston, 1943). An early example of "ethnic studies" and a biting condemnation of racism.

*The California Revolution* (New York, 1968). A series of essays on post-war California edited by McWilliams.

*California: The Great Exception* (New York, 1949). A lively and comprehensive interpretation of California history.

*Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston, 1939). A non-fiction *Grapes of Wrath* and historical exposé of the role of farm labor in California agribusiness.

*Ill Fares the Land: Migrant Labor in the United States* (Boston, 1942). A companion piece to *Factories in the Field*.

*A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America* (Boston, 1948). Another book in McWilliams' remarkable series on "ethnic" themes, published two decades before such works became fashionable.





*The Mexican in America: A Student's Guide to Local History* (New York, 1968). A short summary of the Mexican-American experience designed for secondary teachers and students.

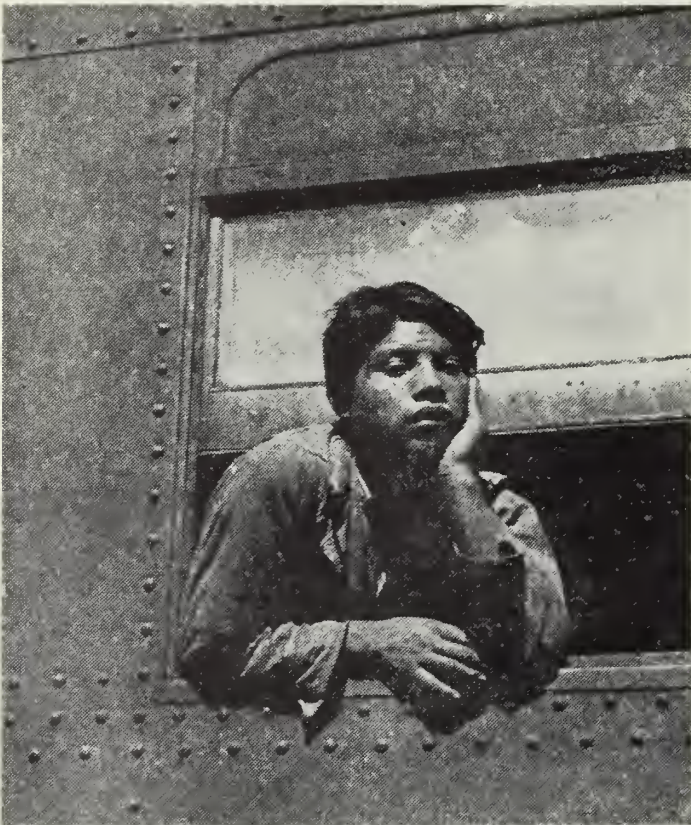
*North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York, 1949). The first comprehensive interpretation of Mexican-American history; still a classic in its field.

*Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston, 1944). A courageous critique of discrimination against Japanese Americans, published in the midst of World War II.

*Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York, 1946). Part chatty guidebook, part biting social analysis of the Los Angeles region.

*Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy* (Boston, 1950). An attack against the excesses of the post-war anti-Communist crusade, including coverage of the University of California loyalty oath controversy.

THE PHOTO on page 174 is from Mr. McWilliams' collection; that on page 177 is courtesy the Oakland Museum. The photos on pages 178 and 180 by Lange appeared in the October, 1943 issue of *Survey Graphic*, p. 392 and 393, and the photo on page 179 is from the Farm Security Administration archives in the Library of Congress.



A young bracero, framed by the window of the train which had carried him from his Mexican village to Sacramento to begin work in the fields, was photographed by Dorothea Lange in 1943.



## Book Reviews

A VICTORIAN GENTLEWOMAN IN THE FAR WEST: THE REMINISCENCES OF MARY HALLOCK FOOTE. Edited with an introduction by Rodman W. Paul. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1972. 416 pp. Illustrations. \$8.50.)

Reviewed by LYNN BONFIELD DONOVAN, CHS manuscript librarian.

Rodman W. Paul has superbly edited this fine autobiography of Mary Hallock Foote (1847-1938). Written in the early 1920's as a family document, the author later revised it for publication. At that time, however, the publishers were disappointed by her deletion of material relating to specific individuals, and, aware of Foote's fading literary reputation, they lost interest. It was not until 1972 that Paul and the Huntington Library brought the piece to print. In some respects we can be grateful for the delay, for without Paul's well-written introduction and careful notes we would have missed much of importance in Mary Foote's life. Delay also allows the work to be viewed from the prospective of the new feminist movement, which places this woman's life and her thoughts and feelings about it into sharp relief against her Victorian background.

Mary Hallock, born to a closely-knit Quaker family rooted for five generations on the same land near Poughkeepsie, New York, showed a talent for drawing as a young girl and after training in New York City began a career as a book illustrator in the 1870's. At twenty-eight she married Arthur De Wint Foote, a civil engineer, and followed him to the West where he successively failed at jobs in California, Colorado, Idaho, and once again California, albeit through no lack of hard work or good ideas. Through all this Mary Foote's life was one of great strain; uprooted from her family and friends in the East while bearing and raising her children in the West, she had to contend, too, with ambivalent feelings toward her husband. Yet, she followed him, believed in him, and often sustained the family with earnings from illustrated stories. It is doubtful had she remained in the East that she would have attained the national reputation she received as an author and illustrator of the western frontier. Beginning with her first story, serialized in *Century* in 1879 and based on her experiences at Leadville, Colorado, she continued through the 1900's to entertain readers with representations of the true life in the mining frontier. Her plots often revolved around sentimental love stories, many with strikingly autobiographical features. Although she made her reputation as a popularizer of the West and others, such as Owen Wister with *The Virginian* (1902), were to follow in her tradition, none of her stories were to have the literary quality of Bret Harte's *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1869) or the lasting influence of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* (1886). Her light romances had little lasting appeal, and Mary Foote was to become a relatively unknown author within her own lifetime.

Paul had studied carefully both the original and the revised versions of Foote's autobiography to present it in its fullest form. Only a few pages appear to be missing from both versions, and these, Paul speculates, deal with feelings toward her husband. Wallace Stegner in his brilliant *Angle of Repose* gives a fictional rendition of their relationship based on one version of the autobiography and her personal letters at the Stanford University Library. But it remains for the reader of these reminiscences to assess Foote's true appraisal of the man with whom she lived for over fifty years.

The importance of this book is two-fold. In the first place it describes life in the West, giving in good detail material about the mining adventures Arthur Foote undertook. It is this that most reviewers have emphasized and applauded. Yet, a better overall view of mining and techniques exists in Paul's earlier works, especially *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1840-1880*. More important, I feel, is this book's unique portrayal of the feel-

ings of a Victorian woman: the tensions of her personal life as a wife and mother; her relationships with other women, including her sister Bessie and her close friend Helena de Kay Gilder; and her own eventual acceptance, although only partial, of women as contributors to society. All of this is marvelously elaborated in the guarded style of a person from the Victorian era. Mary Foote's feelings, her attachments and her conflicts about them, and her attempts to understand herself and her life should neither be misconstrued—as I believe Stegner has done, perhaps, intentionally—nor ignored—as Paul has tended to do in his introduction—nor minimized and discounted—as most of the reviewers of this book have done in treating it as Arthur Foote's biography rather than as Mary Foote's autobiography. Such reminiscences provide the research sources for the innovative and imaginative history of American women being written today by people like Kathryn Kish Sklar, Carl Degler, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg. It provides a source, too, for scholars studying the history of the family, such as Tamara K. Hareven and John Modell. It is a woman's autobiography and the value of it is as such.

A final appreciative word must be given for the use of illustrations selected from Foote's own work, for the genealogical trees of the Hallock and Foote families found on the end papers, and for the fine format which includes footnotes at the bottom of each page. With all of this for the reasonable price of \$8.50, Rodman Paul and the Huntington Library are to be commended.

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND CALIFORNIA POLITICS, 1880–1896. By R. Hal Williams. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973. 290 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

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*Reviewed by* WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH, department of history, California State University, Hayward.

*The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880–1896* illuminates an important aspect of a neglected era in California history. It analyzes important antecedents to events discussed in Michael P. Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California*, and it places state politics into the larger context of national developments, avoiding the provincialism often characteristic of the historiography of the West.

Williams treats major local issues judiciously. The railroad, for example, appears not as the monolithic “invisible government” of the state but as an internally divided corporate body striving to achieve political goals despite recurrent anti-monopoly movements within both major parties. Anti-Chinese sentiment is discussed as an issue dividing the state party and influencing its relationship to the national organization, not in terms of the fanaticism of the sand-lots. The coinage question is developed in similar terms, rather than as a response to the “Crime of 1873” or as a “prelude to Populism.”

Such local issues, however, were not the only rocks upon which the California Democracy foundered. Particularly after the 1884 Stockton Convention, factionalism rent the party and rendered it incapable of presenting a consistently united front. Strong personalities—including Stephen M. White, Stephen J. Field, the Hearsts, and a host of less familiar figures—and conflicting political philosophies exacerbated divisions. “Country” elements envied and mistrusted urban counterparts, essentially the San Francisco contingent. Interests of “cow counties” to the south frequently clashed with those of northern regions, and a growing tide of Midwestern Republican migrants to Southern California diluted Democratic voting strength there. Above all, the transiency of local issues and the inability to sustain support from the national organization undermined the state party. Indeed, Williams' analysis leads inexorably to the conclusion that Grover Cleveland and his lack of party leadership, inept distribution of federal

patronage in the state, inconsistency on tariff and Chinese questions, and inflexibility on monetary and economic matters must bear a major share of the responsibility for California Democratic party failures. Its significant successes, on the other hand, resulted from the efforts of local leadership.

With literary skill and highly competent scholarship, Williams weaves these elements into an absorbing narrative which will certainly complement studies of contemporary politics in other states. Career sketches of important but less familiar California figures strengthen the analysis and add dimension, and a comprehensive bibliographical essay provides an important resource for serious students of California history in the Gilded Age.

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OUR HISTORIC DESERT: THE STORY OF THE ANZA-BORREGO DESERT. By Diana Lindsay. (San Diego: Copley Books, 1973. 144 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$9.50.)

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*Reviewed by* RICHARD G. LILLARD, *professor of American studies and English at California State University, Los Angeles.*

The substantial value of *Our Historic Desert* lies in the four-fifths devoted to human history and legend from the earliest-known civilizations to the present one. Ms. Lindsay is thorough in her researches, as her acknowledgments and excellent bibliography show, and informative in her presentation. She pulls together the chronology of events big and small of "the largest state park" in the nation, together with events in adjoining areas of eastern San Diego and western Imperial counties. Properly, she ties her account of the locale to the larger context of matters such as the Spanish exploration of the deserts and the rise of the conservation movement in California.

Ms. Lindsay's account begins 21,500 years ago. She is at her best on the series of cultures that archeologists have unearthed; on the Fages, Anza, and Romero expeditions; on the American expeditions of General Kearny, the Mormon Battalion, Henry Crabb, the Sonora filibusterer, and William Blake, one of the federal railway surveyors during the 1850's; and on other explorers of the dry lands of southeastern California. Though in much of this she draws on standard historical sources, she uses local materials to round out and freshen her materials. She traces the history of mining, cattle ranching, and oasis farming in the Anza-Borrego area and the rise of esthetic appreciation of desert scenery in the writings of John C. Van Dyke and J. Smeaton Chase. She sums-up well the many searches for Pegleg Smith's legendary lost mine.

The most important part of the book is the two chapters on the long struggle by conservationists against exploiters, first to acquire and consolidate the lands for the park and then to protect and develop it in ways appropriate to preservation and celebration of desert ecosystems. Prospecting is still legal in this quasi-sanctuary, which is violated also by the town of Borrego Springs, totally inside park boundaries and "developing in all directions." Park personnel face the serious problems created by ore hunting, mining, hunting and poaching, grazing, off-road vehicles, stolen plants, road construction (legal or illegal), litter, and the vandalizing of Indian and other historic sites. Ms. Lindsay emphasizes the destructiveness of souvenir collecting and the importance of fighting against the proliferation of access roads. The faster people get into a wilderness, the faster they destroy it.

The volume is illustrated by reproductions of photographs, many in color, of paintings, and of line-drawings that show flora and fauna. But, as a nature writer Diana Lindsay is routine in substance and style. In the opening fifth of her book that describes the non-human features of the park, she has little that is new or at first-hand to say about



geology, fossils, climate, weather, plant and animal ecology, or rare species such as the elephant tree. Her prose has none of the freshly informed detail and eloquent language of Ruth Kirk's *Desert: The American Southwest*. Dry washes are "really very beautiful," says Ms. Lindsay. On the eastern edge of Borrego Mountain is a "very striking sand dune." Like the editor of Copley Books, she goes along with the stereotype that the desert has a special "romance and mystery."

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BERKELEY: THE TOWN AND GOWN OF IT. By George A. Pettitt. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1973. 210 pp. Illustrations. \$9.50.)

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*Reviewed by* CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *reviews editor and Berkeley resident.*

Michael Rossman, a young Berkeley writer, has noted that the "ancient relationship between town and gown has become complicated by the growth of a third party, call it a new town. . . ." Such a new town exists south of campus in Berkeley, and whether you regard its residents as adventurous "street people" or "dangerous radicals," you cannot deny their influence on Berkeley and, indeed, on the state and nation. But "street people" and communes are simply the latest manifestations of Berkeley's historical role as a breeding ground for social experiments (by no means all of them successful). In the early twentieth century, the city pioneered in the development of a modern, professional police force and the concept of the junior high school. The first "radical" mayor was socialist J. Stitt Wilson, elected in 1911.

Thus, a new history of Berkeley, the first written in more than thirty years, is particularly welcome. George Pettitt has lived in the city for a half century and has served as both a faculty member and administrator at the University of California. His book is well-researched, clearly written, and, unlike so many local histories, rarely recitive of nostalgia for nostalgia's sake. Pettitt calmly covers the political and racial conflicts of the past decade and includes a remarkable collection of historical photographs.

But, *Berkeley: The Town and Gown Of It* is not a book for non-Berkeleyans. Its approach is primarily parochial, in Pettitt's own words, to "renew the perspective of old residents and accelerate the integration of new residents." As laudable as these purposes are, there is need for a more ambitious study of Berkeley's past aimed at a much wider audience. Because of its ability to spawn social experiments and its relationship to one of the world's great "multi-versities," the city can serve as a valuable case-study for a number of themes of national importance. Berkeley still awaits treatment by a first-rate urban historian.

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THE KIKUCHI DIARY: CHRONICLE FROM AN AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CAMP. By Charles Kikuchi. Edited and with an introduction by John Modell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. 258 pp. \$8.95.)

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*Reviewed by* EDISON UNO, *member of the Society's Board of Trustees.*

The Tanforan Race Track in San Bruno, California, a suburb of San Francisco, no longer exists. A few years ago it was demolished and today the site holds one of the most modern commercial complexes in California, the Tanforan Shopping Center. In 1942, however, it was known as "home" to thousands of Japanese Americans who were in-

carcerated in makeshift barracks, horse stables, and temporary quarters before they were removed to one of the ten concentration camps in America.

Charles Kikuchi's diary of his life for four-and-a-half months at Tanforan Assembly Center was written at the request of his former sociology professors at the University of California at Berkeley who were involved in the study of the evacuation and relocation of Japanese Americans.

*The Kikuchi Diary* is a valuable resource for the detailed day-to-day experiences of many evacuees who shared the injustices and indignities of the evacuation. Kikuchi's accounts have stood the test of time, and any reader can easily feel the hopelessness, despair, and uncertainty which became a way of life for many of the victims of unjust incarceration. Kikuchi's keen observation and perception of the new life style of innocent citizens put behind barb wire without reason is unprecedented in accuracy and completeness. My personal experiences at a similar camp, the famous Santa Anita Race Track in Arcadia, California, were brought back vividly by the many situations so well documented in his daily log. Many of the persons mentioned in his diary are from the Japanese community in San Francisco, which made reading his experience difficult for me because I know many of these same people. As a result, my objectivity has been colored by my involvement with individuals, organizations, and references with which I closely identify today.

John Modell's introduction includes a comprehensive overview of the Japanese-American experience in America. He also takes great pains to present the life story of Charles Kikuchi. Modell quotes Kikuchi's current views that "on the whole the Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) group didn't get too damaged by the relocation. Generally, we probably gained as a result."

To this reviewer, this quotation does much to negate some of the most important points documented in the diary which follows. In fact, that admission by someone as experienced, talented, and astute as chronicler Kikuchi may reflect the real damage that took place among the Nisei. To live through an experience with the insight and knowledge of all the contradictions of freedom, liberty, justice, and equality and to propose that the Nisei probably gained as a result is certainly a manifestation of some damage, either psychological or mental, or some distortion of perception of what actually took place.

*The Kikuchi Diary* is an important contribution in documenting the Japanese-American heritage, a legacy to help all Americans remember the great wartime mistake against her own citizens.

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MIWOK MEANS PEOPLE: THE LIFE AND FATE OF THE NATIVE INHABITANTS OF THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH COUNTRY. By Eugene L. Conratto. (Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1973. Illustrations. \$5.95.)

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*Reviewed by* LOWELL JOHN BEAN, *department of anthropology at California State University, Hayward.*

Eugene Conratto has attempted to provide a primer to Miwok culture and history in this new book on the Miwok. His approach to the subject is essentially ethnographic and historical, liberally "salted" with highly personal and subjective interpretations of Miwok culture and history.

His ethnographic reporting is largely drawn from standard and somewhat outdated ethnographic resources which are succinctly presented and useful for the student wanting a quick introduction to Miwok culture. A serious student, however, will need to

look at other more recent sources as well as those cited by Conratto for a thorough understanding of what is known about these complex peoples.

Two features set this work apart from most other works published on the Miwok. The book contains a considerable amount of ethnohistorical data which has not been put together in a single source before, and it contains a brief section on contemporary Miwok. The book is also well illustrated with sketches and photographs so that the reader has a ready visual view of historical processes which have affected the Miwok.

There are a number of interpretations that, perhaps because Conratto's data is drawn from out-of-date resources, would no longer be sustained by anthropologists on Miwoks, e.g., that true village life did not come about for the Miwoks until pressure from the white invaders forced "nenas" to abandon their traditional life style, or that the Miwok did not disturb their natural environment. (See Henry Lewis, "Fireburning Among the California Indians," Ballena Press Anthropological Papers, No. 1). Such errors are perhaps not the fault of the author, who is simply reporting from other sources. On the other hand, Conratto provides a sensitive and sympathetic view of the circumstances of Miwok history. There are clearly some exaggerations in his interpretations, but when one considers how seldom authors of popular books, as well as academic ones, have ignored the horrors imposed upon native Californians, it is a welcome contribution.

The areas of information best covered are material culture, subsistence, and history, although some attention is given to religion, myth, and language. A short Miwok vocabulary, a listing of Miwok village sites, and a bibliography are also included.

Generally, this is a worthwhile work—one which can be recommended as a primer to Miwok culture and a supplementary text for college classes in California history or anthropology.

BIG BASIN. By Denzil Verardo. With photographs by Alexander Lowry. (Los Altos: Sempervirens Fund, 1973. 55 pp. \$5.00.)

CASTLE ROCK—WEST OF SKYLINE. By Deanne Earnshaw. With photographs by Alexander Lowry. (Los Altos: Sempervirens Fund, 1973. 32 pp. \$3.50.)

MEN TO MATCH THE MOUNTAINS. By Lloyd Thorpe. (Seattle: Craftsman and Met Press, 1972. 268 pp.)

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*Reviewed by* JOSEPH H. ENGBECK, JR., *author of* *The Enduring Giants, a recent book about giant sequoia and the Calaveras Big Trees area, and a writer and editor for the California State Park system.*

The epic tales of California gold and wheat and railroads and land development have almost always outshone the related stories of conservation and natural-landscape preservation. The quieter stories of stewardship usually lack the explosive, headline-getting qualities that make tales of exploitation front-page stuff. Although conservation stories may lack suddenness and violence, they compensate the reader with heart-warming, even inspirational, examples of courage, vision, generosity, and dedicated concern for human dignity and the public well-being. Today, with skyrocketing population and limited resources, the history of conservation is taking on epic qualities in its own right. This is as it should be, for the continuing effort to use human and natural resources wisely is becoming ever more obviously a matter of survival.

Three recently issued books explore separate aspects of California's conservation effort. Unfortunately, only two of them are very readable.



*Big Basin*, by Denzil Verardo, tells the story of Andrew P. Hill and California's first coast-redwood preservation effort. The text is short and to-the-point, well written, and, at times, eloquent. Alexander Lowry's black-and-white photographs evoke the unique spirit of the stream-filled Santa Cruz Mountains and Big Basin country and are accompanied by historic photos that tell the story behind the present-day Big Basin Redwoods State Park and the ongoing organization known as the Sempervirens Fund which published the book.

*Castle Rock*, by Deanne Earnshaw, is the story of another of California's state parks, this one perhaps less well known, but also located in the Santa Cruz Mountains not far from Big Basin. The text is very short and poetic in quality. It is also inspiring, for it tells of an individual, Russell Varian, and the group of people around him who fell in love with a piece of wilderness, Castle Rock, and set out to share the place and their vision of it with the public. Text and photographs by Alexander Lowry weave together very effectively to create a kind of ode to the place and the people—many of whom are still actively involved in the ongoing process of creating, expanding, and otherwise completing Castle Rock State Park.

*Men to Match the Mountains* was published by the author, Lloyd Thorpe, with support from the California Department of Corrections, the California Department of Youth Authority, and the California Department of Conservation, Division of Forestry. This is the story of the highway, forestry, and other outdoor work-camp programs carried on by the State of California. Written with the kind of folksiness, gusto, and high enthusiasm that often characterize magazine articles, the book becomes virtually unreadable even though it is competent—in its way—sentence by sentence. Everything is climax. The pace is hectic and the figures heroic, even when the story is one of bureaucratic fumbling and delay. Nevertheless, there is interesting information here, along with a rare, inside look at state bureaucracy at its worst *and* its best.

The story itself is big, involving thousands of men from one end of the state to the other. The camp program has been utilized in many kinds of natural-resource management programs, from highway building to state-park maintenance, from flood control and oil-spill cleanup to fire fighting. So, for those who have been personally involved and for those who can wade through the overly enthusiastic, purple prose, here is the inside story of a state government program that has made excellent use of both human and natural resources that otherwise would have been wasted.



# California Check List

PETER EVANS, *CHS librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1972 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, be sure to give the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Peter A. Evans, Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free.

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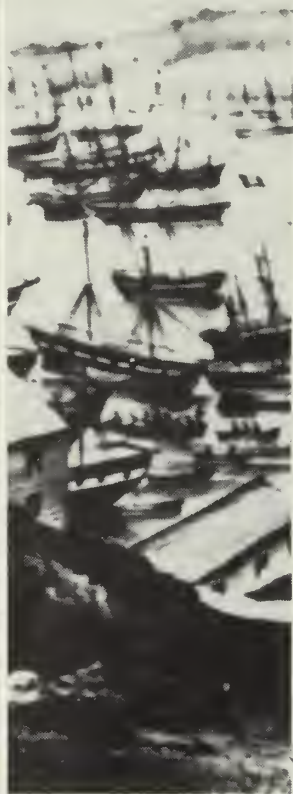
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Discriptio D. Franc. Draci qui 5. navibus probe instructis, ex Anglia solvens 13 Decembris a  
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COVER: Circumnavigating the globe, English Captain Francis Drake dropped anchor in what is now a California bay long enough to repair his leaking ship and to explore and claim possession of the unknown land which he called Nova Albion. A decade later the famous *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* map by cartographer Jodocus Hondius appeared to chronicle Drake's momentous expedition. Engraved in the map's upper left-hand corner is the *Portus Novae Albionis*, a plan of Drake's California anchorage whose lack of cartographic certainty has perplexed historians seeking to locate Drake's "faire and good Baye." An intriguing and lively debate between three well-known and dedicated scholars who respectively identify the site as Drakes Estero, Bolinas Lagoon, and San Quentin Cove begins on page 203 of this Special Issue of the *Quarterly*. Robert H. Power Collection.

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*This special issue of the  
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*whose commitment to historical truth was reflected  
in his long and stubborn search for new evidence  
that would locate at last and always  
Drake's California anchorage.*

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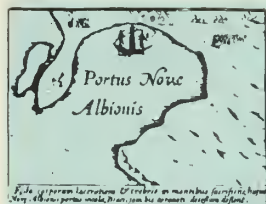
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# The Francis Drake Controversy; His California Anchorage, June 17-July 23, 1579: An Introductory Perspective

J. S. HOLLIDAY

*Director of the California Historical Society*

DAMNED AS A "MASTER THIEF" by the Spanish whose empire he had tormented by attacks on their Caribbean possessions and treasure ships, Captain Francis Drake in December, 1577, sailed from England on a voyage that would be remembered as one of the great exploits of maritime history. With secret plans (apparently approved by Queen Elizabeth) to explore the Pacific Ocean and plunder Spanish ports on the western shore of South America, Drake set out in command of five ships. By the time he reached the Straits of Magellan, two ships had turned back, and during the sixteen-day passage, "hell-darke nightes and the mercyleless fury of tempestuous storms" swallowed up one of his surviving ships and sent another back to the Atlantic.

Alone in Spain's private ocean, Drake sailed the *Golden Hinde* north, raided the ports of Valparaiso and Callao de Lima, seized a Panama-bound treasure galleon from Peru, and took possession of strongboxes filled with emeralds and pearls, chests of coined silver, gold ingots, and twenty-six tons of silver bars. Farther north he captured another Spanish ship, sacked a port, and escaped northward, his ship laden with booty. He sought on the western shore of North America the famed Strait of Anian which would provide entrance to a Northwest Passage to the Atlantic and England. By early June, 1579, that search had carried the *Golden Hinde* to the coast of Oregon where, thwarted by northwest winds and despairing of "finding passage through thoes Northern parts," Drake turned southward to find a safe harbor in which to repair his leaking ship, restore his

OPPOSITE: *The Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticæ map of the world by cartographer Jodocus Hondius [London, 1589], one-half of which is reproduced, contains in its upper left-hand corner the plan, Portus Novæ Albionis, which for centuries has fascinated and frustrated historians who have sought to identify its exact location on the California coast. The caption to the Portus Plan may be translated: "With appalling laceration of their bodies and with numerous sacrifices in the mountains (hills) the inhabitants of this port of New Albion lament the departure of Drake, whom they have already twice crowned."* Robert H. Power Collection.



*Accompanied by his navigational instruments, Drake appeared on the frontispiece to The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, the second published account of his voyage which was probably written a few years after his return to England but not published until 1628.*

crew, augment supplies, and prepare to cross the vast Pacific for the return to England via Cape Good Hope.

In searching for a place of refuge, the *Golden Hinde* sailed along the coast of California and on June 17, 1579, entered "a faire and good Baye." There Drake and his crew remained for thirty-six days, built a fort near the shore, repaired their ship, explored the nearby inland area, visited and treated with the Indians, and on the eve of their departure erected a brass plate which claimed for Queen Elizabeth "this kingdome . . . to be knowne unto all men as Nova Albion." On July 23, Drake sailed westward from his California harbor and in September of 1580 triumphantly returned to Plymouth, England, there to be knighted by his Queen.



This astonishing voyage has commanded the attention of explorers, cartographers, and historians not only because of its significance as the second circumnavigation in world history and because it marked the end of Spain's exclusive control of the Pacific (English and Dutch raiders soon followed Drake with equally rewarding gains), but as well because of a remarkably persistent, often bitter controversy raised by the question: Where did Drancis Frake land on the coast of California? Where on the shore of the Spanish Sea did Englishmen first raise their flag some six years prior to the earliest colony in Virginia?

There would be no uncertainty, no provocative mystery if Captain Drake's journal, charts, or logbook could be found. Drake presented these records of his circumnavigation and plundering successes to Queen Elizabeth on his return to Plymouth, and the Queen presumably destroyed or hid them, to prevent such inflammatory information from reaching Spanish agents at a time of growing hostility between the two nations. In the absence of this conclusive evidence, knowledge of the three-year expedition and particularly of the month-long sojourn on the coast of California has been largely dependent on two secondary narratives of the voyage, written after Drake's return to England.

The earliest of these accounts, *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577*, was published in London in 1589 as part of Richard Hakluyt's renowned *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. . . . The Drake section is generally believed to have been compiled from several sources, including notes by Francis Fletcher who sailed with Drake as chaplain of the *Golden Hinde*. The second basic publication on the Drake voyage, entitled *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1628), provides a far lengthier, more descriptive report on the California experience. However, it, too, is aggravatingly vague in commenting on the bay where the *Golden Hinde* anchored and was repaired. Both accounts corroborate that Drake "set vp a monument of our being there, . . . namely a plate of brasse fast nailed to a great and firme post. . . ."

Another document of major importance in the quest for conclusive evidence is the famous map of the world issued in London in 1589 by the renowned cartographer Jodocus Hondius, entitled *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae*. In the upper left-hand corner a pictorial insert depicts the *Golden Hinde* at its California anchorage, labeled *Portus Nova Albionis*. Considered primary evidence by all who over the decades have sought to identify Drake's landing site, this drawing has been compared with most of the proposed bays, harbors, estuaries, lagoons, and coves along the California coast from Half Moon Bay north to Trinidad Bay.

Ironically, the discovery in 1936 of the most important and dramatic evidence of Drake's presence—his Plate of Brass, "California's choicest archeological treasure"—produced not resolution but additional controversy. Though scientific analysis authenticated the plate as the original Drake "monument" and thus eliminated accusations that it was a fraud, stubborn disagreements persist as to how it was found, where, and by whom. And so like the other evidence, Drake's plate creates questions for which there are no conclusive answers. Inevitably one longs to find those answers in Drake's logbook, possibly yet to be discovered in some ancient chest or in the accumulations of the royal family archive.



The California Historical Society entered this remarkably persistent, always complex, and often contentious debate in 1890, not as a participant offering arguments in favor of one of the anchorage sites but rather to provide an open forum for the presentation of new evidence. In that year the Society issued its first publication on Drake in California, and in the eighty-four years since, CHS has maintained its neutral role as publisher of the evidence and research of all Drake scholars. The result has been publication of thirteen articles or books, plus sponsorship of public meetings and speeches, all directed to further clarification of the issues in the Drake debate.

As the 400th anniversary of Drake's landing approaches, committees have been formed to plan appropriate public celebrations, a replica of the *Golden Hinde* has been built in England to sail from Plymouth to San Francisco, and public interest, especially in California, has increasingly been attracted to the vigorous three-sided argument conducted for the last decade by scholars who support either Bolinas Bay, Drakes Bay, or San Francisco Bay. Two of these sites have a tradition of advocacy by "Drake experts": Drakes Bay was defended by Captain George Vancouver (1798), Theodore H. Hittel (1885), and George Davidson (1890); San Francisco Bay by Captain James Burney (1803), J. D. B. Stillman (1868), and Edward E. Hale (1884). Bolinas Bay has been suggested by only one other scholar, Thomas J. Barfield, a San Francisco attorney and Bolinas historian, who in 1935 entered that site in the controversy. In more recent years textbook historians of California have generally evaded the question, referred to Hubert Howe Bancroft who equivocated between Bodega and Drakes bays, or favored Drakes Bay.

The scholars who since 1954 have most successfully supported today's three major sites are: **DRAKES BAY**—The members of the Drake Navigators Guild have produced an impressive record of publications, research reports, archaeological explorations, and public seminars. First led by Captain Adolph S. Oko and Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, USN, the Guild's president in recent years, Raymond Aker, has since 1963 directed the Guild's research team. **BOLINAS BAY**—Dr. V. Aubrey Neasham, a professional historian since the 1930's, has been active in teaching and writing California history and in preservation and archaeological work. His long record of involvement in the Drake question culminated in the summer of 1973 when he directed an archaeological exploration on the shores of Bolinas Lagoon in search of the foundation of Drake's fort. That work continued during the summer of 1974, with results that Dr. Neasham reports are encouraging. **SAN FRANCISCO BAY**—Robert H. Power has a remarkable record in presenting his theory that Drake anchored and careened the *Golden Hinde* in the cove at Point San Quentin on the north shore of San Francisco Bay. Over the years Power has traveled far to obtain cartographic and other evidence and to present his case to scholarly and general audiences. In addition to a number of articles and treatises on the California landing, he has proposed the thesis that in claiming Nova Albion for Queen Elizabeth, Drake in effect started Britain's overseas empire.

These are the spokesmen who have been selected by the CHS to participate in an entirely new method of presenting the accumulated and contradictory evidence. Clearly the time has come to advance from the tradition of each side publishing separate statements in various journals or speaking to temporary

## Introductory Perspective



Shown on this schematic map is the relative location of the three anchorages and other major sites under discussion. Map by John Beyer.

audiences. While that traditional approach has produced an impressive collective bibliography (see pp. 289–292) and public interest, it has, as well, generated a momentum that encourages perpetuation of arguments rather than a determination to clarify if not resolve the controversy.

Since 1970 each proponent has issued a major statement, i.e., Raymond Aker, *Report of Findings Relating to Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Encampment at Point Reyes National Seashore* (1970); V. Aubrey Neasham and William E. Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing: The Evidence for Bolinas Lagoon* (1974); and Robert H. Power, "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay," in the *Quarterly* (Spring, 1973). With these significant presentations as substantive background, it has been agreed that the progress gained makes possible

a new approach, wherein the purpose of clarification and resolution will be paramount.

Fifty years after the first article on Drake appeared in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, this Special Issue seeks to provide for the participants (and, more importantly, for the considerable audience which has followed the disagreement over the years) a fresh, original method of utilizing their accumulated knowledge on this fascinating problem—a method that necessitates the distillation of their arguments, thereby to cope with the challenge of twenty Tenet statements that have been mutually agreed to as the essential parts of the whole problem.

Following each Tenet, the three participants consecutively present their interpretations and evaluations; then each rebuts the other two participants' opening arguments; immediately following, each presents his counter-rebuttal. Thus the three participants progress through the entire debate of twenty Tenets—persuading, countering, denying, and sometimes agreeing—all within the constraints imposed by the format of the debate.

Inevitably (and mercifully) space limitation required an allotment of a maximum of 4000 words total for each participant's twenty opening statements, 4000 words total for his twenty rebuttals, and 4000 words total for his twenty counter-rebuttals. A 200-word opening statement by each participant begins the debate and a 100-word summary concludes the interchange. The illustrations—ten have been selected by each participant—are of utmost importance throughout, either as evidence in themselves or as buttresses to an argument.

Whenever reference is made, in Tenet or discussion, to one of the five crucial, "primary" sources, page references direct the reader to the Appendix where the full text of the quotation may be read, thereby allowing the reader to evaluate the text independently of each participant's point of view. For readers who wish to know the scope of the literature on this subject and the publications which substantiate the opinions of the participants, an extensive bibliography completes the Appendix.

From this structure of opinion and information, evidence and counterevidence, we believe that the Drake controversy can be understood by the general reader newly introduced to this historic subject and re-evaluated by the scholar already acquainted with its nuances and complexities. As the CHS has helped to sustain and direct this discussion over the decades, so it now seeks through this Special Issue of the *Quarterly* to bring this debate to the largest audience yet addressed by Drake scholars.





# THE DEBATE

Point Reyes Peninsula / Drakes Estero    RAYMOND AKER, *Drake Navigators Guild*

Bolinas Bay / Bolinas Lagoon    V. AUBREY NEASHAM

San Francisco Bay / San Quentin Cove    ROBERT H. POWER

## Opening Statement

**Drake Navigators Guild:** The Drake Navigators Guild was formed in 1949 with the idea that several people, each with special skills, might collectively resolve the question of Drake's California landing place. Its purposes were to gather all available evidence, to stimulate search for further documentary and archaeological evidence, and to correlate this evidence throughout the suspect area.

It was agreed that *all* evidence must be considered and applied to the problem by strict interpretation—without omission in whole or in part. It was recognized that nearly all of the documentary evidence was not primary, but that various extant sources could be analyzed individually and compared. It was believed that strict application of the facts, coupled with requirements of navigation, seamanship, and careening, would identify a particular site.

The body of evidence and practical requirements focused on Drakes Bay and led to the Guild's discovery of Drake's encampment site at Drakes Estero in 1952. Announcement was made in 1956.

**Aubrey Neasham:** The probable discovery of Francis Drake's long-lost fort in September, 1973, on the west shore of Bolinas Lagoon in Marin County would place this as the site of his California landing in 1579. If confirmed, this would indicate that the *Golden Hinde* anchored in Bolinas Bay on June 17, 1579, after sailing southward from the present-day Oregon coast. On June 21, after searching for water and a secluded carenage spot, the ship was brought into the inner lagoon to be unloaded and repaired. By June 23 a fort had been built to guard the ship and its captured booty and to protect against possible hostile Indians or pursuing Spaniards.

The Indians, Coast Miwok, lived at the water's edge and inland. After they had crowned him *Hióh*, Drake and his men visited their main villages, probably in the Olema area. Before resuming his voyage from Bolinas Bay on July 23, a brass plate was nailed on a post which claimed the land, Nova Albion, for Queen Elizabeth.

**Robert Power:** The evidence that Francis Drake discovered San Francisco Bay on "June. 17, 1579"<sup>1</sup> has a definitive character sufficiently robust to allow the finding that "*the golden Hinde*"<sup>2</sup> was the first ship to enter the Golden Gate.

The *Portus Novæ Albionis* cartographic plan will be demonstrated to be a view of northern San Francisco Bay which positions Drake's fort in the general area where the Drake Plate of Brass was found in 1936 at Point San Quentin.

The natural science evidence will consider life zones centering on Novato Valley, an area easily reached from Point San Quentin.

The evidence that a “good winde” sent the *Golden Hinde* into the Bay of Nova Albion matches conditions for entering the Golden Gate on a summer afternoon.

The debate will progress through weather conditions, Montanus’ illustration, and other evidence, but apparent throughout will be the realization that San Francisco Bay is the only inner harbor in Marin County that has been historically used to water, victual, and careen ships the size of the *Golden Hinde*.

## Tenet 1

*Reaching the coast of what is now called Southern Oregon early in June, 1579, Drake searched for the Northwest Passage. Not finding it, he sailed south some 300 miles to about 38° latitude where he stopped to repair the Golden Hinde. What relevance does the search for the Northwest Passage have to the landing-site controversy?*

**Guild:** The accounts make it clear that Drake had hopes of passing across the northern part of this continent to emerge in the Atlantic above Labrador where the explorer Frobisher was also seeking an opening. Drake’s navigation confirms the intent, but adverse weather and biting cold discouraged the attempt and sent him south to refit for a Pacific crossing.

**Neasham:** The “Anonymous Narrative” states that the *Golden Hinde* had sailed to 48° latitude looking for a strait. Failing to find it they turned back to 44°, where a harbor was found to ground the ship, “to trim her” (see p. 286). The latitudes indicated, as we know now, were several degrees too high.

*The World Encompassed* also said that Drake had gone as far north as 48° searching for a passage. According to this account he eventually concluded that there was none, explaining that they had a “franke” wind “to haue carried vs through, had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene, had there beene a strete” (see p. 280).

Nowhere on the way to its final anchorage was there that which would have indicated that the *Golden Hinde* was near the entrance to a strait, namely rough, turbulent seas, caused by strong, running tides. Reaching Bolinas Bay under relatively calm conditions, Drake stopped short of San Francisco Bay’s narrow entrance, with its rough, turbulent water caused by swift outgoing and incoming rip tides suggestive of a strait.

**Power:** There is no relevance between the search for the Northwest Passage and the identification of the Bay of Nova Albion which Drake entered on June 17, 1579.

**Guild:** If Drake entered the Golden Gate, he would have found himself passing through an impressive strait, and once inside he would have seen a farther strait leading an indefinite distance inland, possibly the sought-for passage to the Atlantic. He would have immediately started exploration of its farthest reaches using the small bark that he had with him.

These events are inconsistent with Hakluyt’s simple statement of Drake’s being sent into a bay, or the equally concise statement in *The World Encompassed* of falling with a harbor (see pp. 274, 278). Morena’s statements exemplify the ideas that would have been entertained (see p. 286). Had Drake come into the bay, the impressions and explo-

ration would have been documented and clearly remembered by all on board. The discovery would not have remained a secret for long.

**Neasham:** The search for the Northwest Passage indeed has relevance to "the identification of the Bay of Nova Albion, which Drake entered June 17, 1579." Had he entered the narrow mouth of the Golden Gate, the "unique Bernouilli wind" (see fn. 11), turbulent water, and swift tides there would have indicated to him that he was possibly at the entrance to a strait. He had searched for such as far north as 42° or 43°. Not finding it, he turned southward looking for a safe place to repair the *Golden Hinde*. From 43° to 38° is only a matter of some 300 nautical miles and within range of his quest for the passage.

Had Drake entered San Francisco Bay, a great inland estuary of the sea, as described by the Portolá expedition in 1769, he surely would have explored it intensively to determine whether or not it was the passage through the continent which he sought. Nothing in the Drake narratives indicated he saw such or did so.

That San Francisco Bay might have a connection with the Northwest Passage was indicated in official Spanish correspondence of August 27, 1770, when Matías de Armona, intendent of the Californias, wrote to the viceroy of New Spain: "One part of that harbor of San Francisco is so long that they [Portolá] could see no end to it; and this may well be, should it have some connection further up with the Great Lakes, or with what they call the Sea of the West, and finally with the North Sea [the Atlantic], so much sought for by the English. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

**Power:** This topic has no relationship to identification of Drake's Nova Albion anchorage. There is no validity to the concept that the Golden Gate would have caused Drake to hypothesize that it was the entrance to a 4,000-mile "northwest passage." A passage in 38° would have made Nova Albion part of Asia or a sub-continent, contrary to all geographical thought at that time.<sup>4</sup> A major river draining a massive continent through the Golden Gate would have been compatible with all of the maps extant in 1579.<sup>5</sup>

**Guild:** Drake's mission to search for the Northwest Passage has relevance to whether or not Drake entered San Francisco Bay, because if he had entered, it would have spurred him to search the farthest reaches of the bay.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

**Neasham:** This topic is of primary importance in the identification of Drake's California anchorage.

**Power:** Dr. Neasham and the Guild have changed this into a new Tenet more appropriately titled "Why Drake didn't discover the Golden Gate" and then proceed to make unfounded speculations. For instance, the Guild says, "Had Drake come into the Bay, the . . . exploration would have been documented. . . . It would not have remained a secret long."

The discovery of San Francisco Bay did not remain a secret. As early as 1589 Thomas Talbot, the Keeper of Records in the Tower of London, apparently provided Drake documents containing a world map and the *Portus Nova Albionis* to an associate, Jodocus Hondius.<sup>6</sup> In turn, Hondius placed on his *Expeditionis Nauticae*<sup>7</sup> world map an inlet in Nova Albion extending some 150 miles northeast into the land with its mouth in 38° latitude. Then, to show the anchorage within this large inlet, he reproduced the Portus Plan as a corner inset which, even to this day, matches the features of northern San Francisco Bay, including Belvedere, Tiburon, and the Contra Costa shore.



## Tenet 2

*Several early accounts of the Drake voyage report conflicting latitude designations for Drake's landing site. How are these to be reconciled with the proposed landing site?*

**Guild:** Despite statements made in various accounts that Drake landed between 44°N and 48°N, study of the various latitudes shows that relaxation of secrecy surrounding Drake's voyage reduced the published latitude to 38°. Point Reyes lies at 38°00'N and the Drakes Estero encampment site at 38°02'N.

**Neasham:** Various latitudes are mentioned for Drake's anchorage in California. The "Anonymous Narrative" indicated 44°. The 38°30' of *The World Encompassed*, if correct, would place it in the vicinity of Bodega Bay. Most authorities today accept 38°, essentially as given in Hakluyt's account. This line runs through Drakes Bay near Point Reyes and the northern part of San Francisco Bay. However, a true interpretation of the wording in Hakluyt's account "within 38 degrees towards the line" (see p. 274), would place the anchorage below and south of 38°, towards the equator. The only plausible anchorage for Drake within this range would be Bolinas Bay, which lies at about 37°54'. Bolinas Lagoon, its inner harbor, is about 37°55'.

**Power:** The first published account of Drake's landing in Nova Albion (Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1589), states that the "faire and good Baye" was in 38°. This has proved to be the correct latitude. In this approximate latitude are "the white bankes and cliffes [of Point Reyes] which lie towards the sea" (see p. 276); the Coast Miwok Indians who spoke the language recorded in the "Maddox Diary";<sup>9</sup> the Shinn discovery near Point San Quentin of the Plate of Brass; and a fair orientation of the *Portus Novae Albionis* and the Montanus illustration (see p. 259) with existing geographic features in northern San Francisco Bay. This collaborative evidence focuses attention on Point San Quentin on San Francisco Bay which is situated only 3.5 nautical miles south of the 38th parallel.

**Guild:** Comparison of all latitudes given in the voyage accounts with actual latitudes shows about 16 minutes average error either side of true latitude. Latitude 38° limits the area of search for the landing site to a small distance north or south but does not pinpoint the site.

We can not agree with Dr. Neasham's view that Hakluyt, by stating "within 38. degrees towards the line," meant that Drake was somewhat south of 38°. The context is that Drake simply "drew back againe" toward the equator, or line, from his landfall, not that he landed an unspecified number of minutes south of 38°.

At Drake's anchorage, Dudley Manuscript Chart No. 85 (see p. 265) shows the first sounding slightly north of 38°, his *La Punta* at 38°06', and *Por.to boniss.mo* at 38°15'. In his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale* (see p. 212), the northern part of the anchorage is in exactly 38°. In his text, Dudley gives 38° as the latitude of Drake's port.

**Neasham:** Drake's landing was "within 38 degrees towards the line." As San Francisco Bay, in the estimation of this writer, can be eliminated (despite the fact that Point San Quentin is at 37°57'), the only plausible site for the landing is at Bolinas Bay at 37°55'. The so-called Drake's Cove at the west side of the estero entrance at Drakes Bay is above 38°. Only the traditional site chosen by George Davidson on the lee side of Point Reyes fits the requirements of "within 38 degrees towards the line." That site was eliminated archeologically by Dr. Heizer and this writer in 1948.

**Power:** For Dr. Neasham to make the statement, "The only plausible anchorage for Drake within this range [*i.e.*, south of  $38^{\circ}$ ] would be Bolinas Bay, which lies at about  $37^{\circ} 54'$ ," is deceptive. San Francisco Bay in the exact same range is *prima facie* a plausible anchorage.

**Guild:** See our statement and first response.

**Neasham:** During the sixteenth century, latitudes along the California coast often were given as several minutes or more too high or too low, largely because the sightings usually were made aboard ship. On land, under more stable conditions, it was a different matter. Drake, ashore at Bolinas Lagoon for almost five weeks, had ample time to obtain accurate readings of his instruments.

Dudley's  $37^{\circ} 50' \pm$  for Drake's anchorage, as shown in his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, was correct. He had every opportunity to have had the proper information, having known Drake. Also, Dudley's brother-in-law, Thomas Cavendish, who followed Drake as far as Lower California in 1587, must have had Drake's charts to have completed his voyage around the world. Dudley, the executor of Cavendish's estate, had ready access to his records and charts.

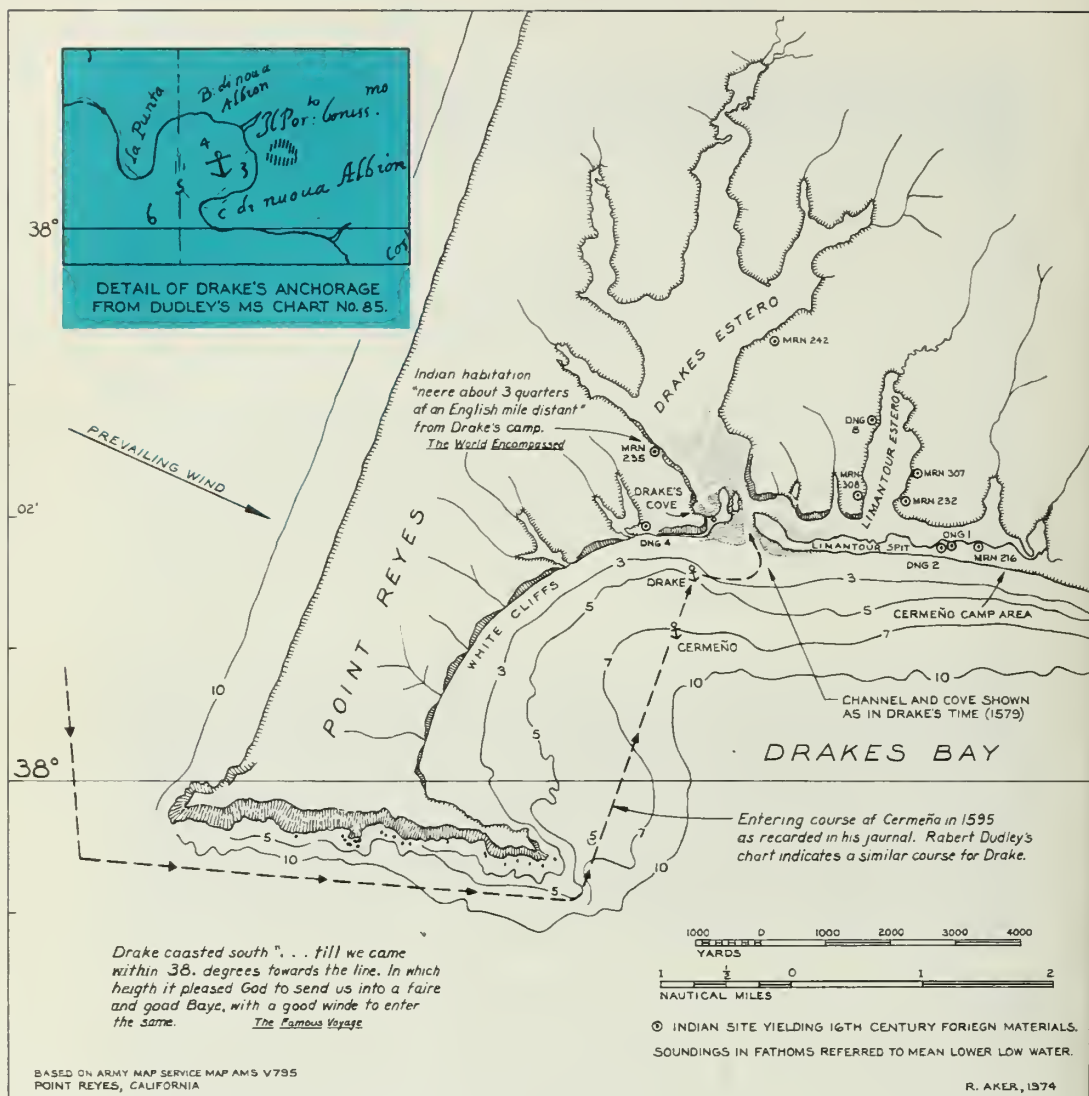
**Power:** No meaningful differential.

## Tenet 3

Drake discovered "white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea" rimming what is today called Drakes Bay on the south side of Point Reyes (see p. 201). They reminded him of old England (Albion) and inspired the name Nova Albion. What course did Drake follow after sighting the remarkable coastal formation?

**Guild:** Drake was searching for a harbor. Hakluyt's *Famous Voyage*, inserted into *The Principall Navigations*, states that in the height of  $38^{\circ}$  it pleased God to send him into a "faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same" (see p. 274). Purposefully, Drake would have stayed close to Point Reyes on an easterly course to take advantage of possible anchorage under its shelter. When the white cliffs were sighted, he had inadvertently entered the mouth of Drakes Bay, sent in, as it were, by godsend. Drakes Estero to the north could not have failed to attract Drake's attention as a possible harbor and source of fresh water, and a change of course and single tack with the prevailing westerly wind, the "good winde," would have brought him to the mouth of the estero. His ship's boat would soon find the entering channel, and a flood tide near high water could have allowed the ship to kedge to an inner anchorage on the day of arrival at the site.

**Neasham:** According to Hakluyt's *Famous Voyage* the *Golden Hinde* sailed southward down the coast of California from southern Oregon, until on June 17 it came "within 38 degrees towards the line" (see p. 274). After passing Point Reyes, the ship then followed generally an east-southeast course to what is now Bolinas Bay, with a northwest wind "to enter the same." From a position just south of Point Reyes, the white cliffs of Drakes Bay facing towards the sea, reminiscent of those of Albion (England), were clearly observable to the northeast about five miles away.



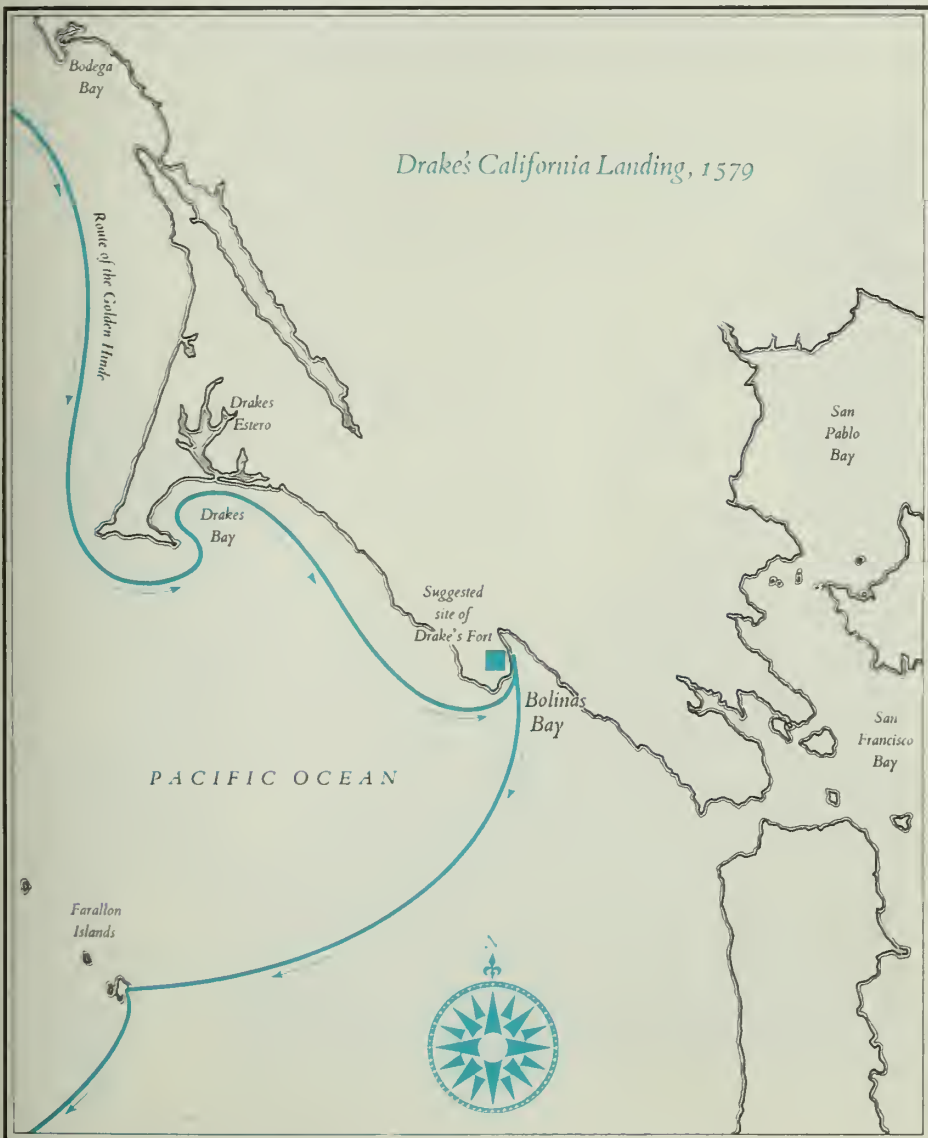
GUILD: The proposed course of Drake into Drakes Bay, based on the soundings on Robert Dudley's seventeenth-century charts and the entering course into the bay of the explorer Cermeño in 1595. Upon anchoring, Drake would have sent his small boat into Drakes Estero to sound the bar and channel. Drawing by Raymond Aker.

NEASHAM: The proposed route of the Golden Hinde into Bolinas Bay (opposite), showing the suggested site of Drake's fort. Drawing by Edmond Gross.



**Power:** Drake was sailing under a cloud of discouragement on June 17, 1579. He had failed to find a northwest passage, his ship leaked, water and provisions were in short supply, and, in over 400 miles of exploration, the coast had not yielded a suitable anchorage.

But signs of good fortune came in fast succession on June 17, 1579. The *Golden Hinde* and the smaller pinnace which Drake had captured in Mexico rounded Point Reyes, then sailed eastward across Drakes Bay to again engage the coast; on the port side were white cliffs reflecting the morning light with a geological form amazingly like the white cliffs of England. Insignificant from the sea was the entrance to Drakes Estero which is "generally marked by breakers on either hand."<sup>10</sup> The coast continued bold past Double Point, Bolinas, and Mount Tamalpais. Then the Golden Gate came into view, and the unique bernoulli<sup>11</sup> wind "sent" (see p. 274) the expedition into that waterway. The captured pinnace served as a pilot for hidden dangers so Drake was able to progress with safety into San Francisco Bay. The bernoulli wind's principal force turns northward and so sailed the *Golden Hinde* into Raccoon Strait, where the ship was anchored that evening in the lee of Angel Island.

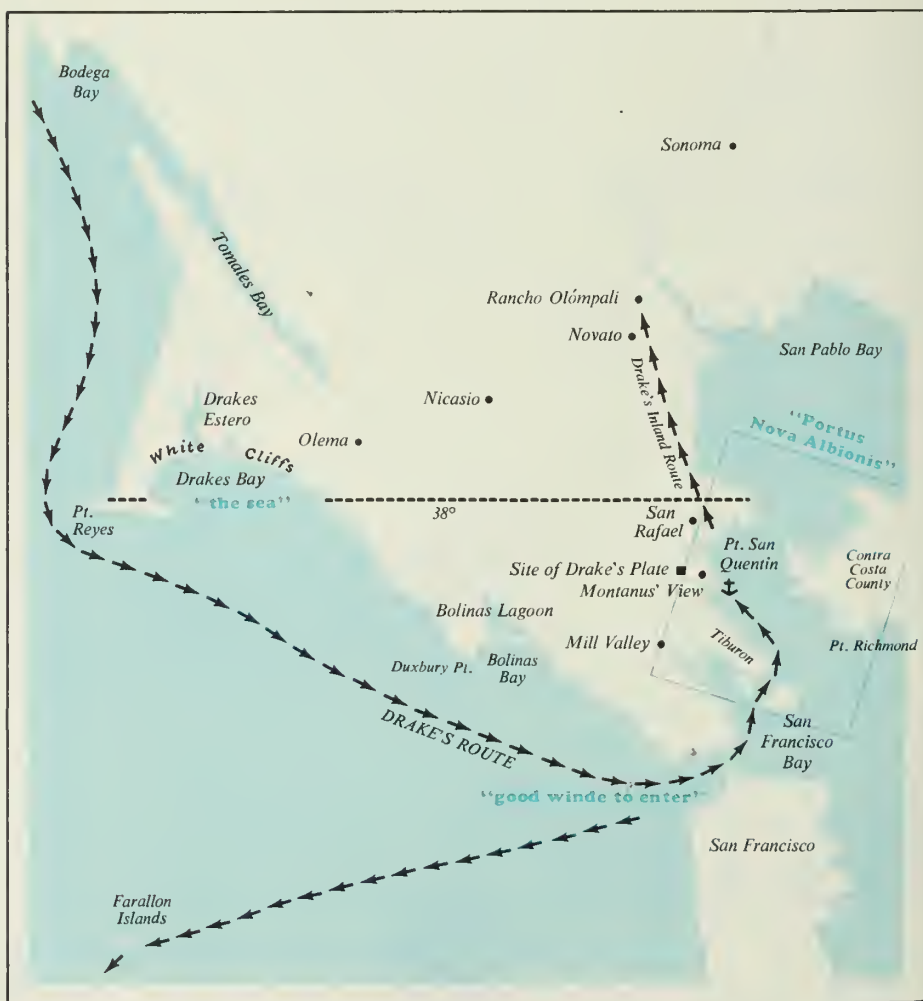


**Guild:** The white cliffs of Drakes Bay lie for the most part inside Point Reyes on the west side of the bay, and if Drake saw them close enough to inspire recollections of Albion, he also saw the sweep of the bay. Experience at sea has demonstrated that Drakes Estero is easily seen outside Drakes Bay. At this time, it would not have been cliffs that interested Drake, but the bay and estuary for which he had urgent need and had diligently searched along 350 miles of hostile coast. Why pass these by without examination when nothing better was in sight?

Breakers did not deter Drake from entering Port San Julian, an estuary similar to Drakes Estero facing the sea, and he entered that port the same day he found it. Mr. Power cites Davidson's mention of breakers at Drakes Estero, but they were not in the entrance; omitted is the information that "coasters can enter with the prevailing north-west wind."<sup>12</sup> Francisco de Bolaños, who was with both Cermeño and Vizcaino, wrote, "An estero enters with a very good mouth without breakers."<sup>13</sup>

With a ship of *Golden Hinde's* draft, to be sent into the unknown Golden Gate with a strong wind from astern, as Mr. Power believes Drake entered, is to court disaster,

**POWER:** Drake's discoveries in present Marin County ranged from the white cliffs through the Golden Gate to a San Francisco Bay anchorage which corresponds to the Portus Plan. "Inland" was Novato, a valley of "fruitful soil." Map by John Beyer.



even with the "pinnacle" going ahead as pilot. If hidden dangers lie ahead, there is the problem of avoiding being driven onto them, let alone the problem of getting out again if necessary. With so much at stake, it is more likely that the "pinnacle" would be sent in beforehand and *Golden Hinde* not enter until it returned some time later on an ebb tide.

Bolinas Bay cannot be entered in Hakluyt's sense of being sent in as by godsend. Coming from the north, one must pass outside of Duxbury Reef projecting 1.2 miles southeast of Duxbury Point on the west side of the bay. Clearing this reef, the course for the entrance to Bolinas Lagoon is northerly rather than northeasterly as shown by Dudley.

**Neasham:** Sailing on generally a south-southeast course to Bolinas Bay, after rounding Point Reyes, Drake would have had a good view of Drakes Bay and its two possible careening sites on the lee side of Point Reyes and at the estero entrance. He even may have altered his course somewhat to look at them. Apparently, neither spot fitted his requirements. Going on to the indentation marked by Bolinas Bay, which was visible, he anchored some distance off shore. He did not enter the inner harbor on the day of arrival, June 17. *The World Encompassed* makes it clear that the *Golden Hinde* was not brought to its final anchorage until June 21.

**Power:** The Guild is unable to make the statements given in the written accounts which bear on this Tenet fit the geography of Point Reyes. They allege that Drake closely rounded Point Reyes and "when the white cliffs were sighted he had inadvertently entered the mouth of Drakes Bay, sent in, as it were, by godsend."

This paraphrasing of Hakluyt's account is in conflict with the original source because when the white cliffs are mentioned in that text, the body of water in front of the white cliffs is described as "the sea." To the Elizabethans Drakes Bay was part of the ocean, and it has no definable "mouth."

Then, the Guild asserts "Drakes Estero to the north could not have failed to attract Drake's attention as a possible harbor." In rebuttal I cite George W. Davidson's 1887 opinion: "[Drake] . . . could not have detected the entrance [to Drakes Estero] from his vessel."<sup>14</sup> The Guild's suggestion that the *Golden Hinde* kedged into an inner anchorage is in conflict with Hakluyt's account which said the anchorage was entered with a "good winde."

Bolinas Bay is even more a part of the ocean than Drakes Bay. It, too, has no mouth to enter; it is neither fit, convenient, fair, nor a good "Baye/harborough."

**Guild:** Drakes Bay lies inside a line from the east end of Point Reyes to Double Point. Sailing east under Point Reyes, there is no indication of the inner bay until the east end of the point is cleared, at which time one is in the bay, a factor that has the element of surprise—to Drake, a godsend. From the bay, he would have sought anchorage off Drakes Estero and sent his boat in for soundings.

Davidson's statement is no more than an opinion. This writer first saw the estero and entrance May 14, 1949, at 6.5 miles from the bridge of a ship<sup>15</sup> on course from the Light Ship to Point Reyes from a height equivalent to a lookout's post in the *Golden Hinde's* tops. The ability to see the estero from outside the bay was further tested and proved a few years ago by the Guild in a 53-foot motorsailer.

Bolinas Bay is insignificant from seaward and lacks the element of surprise on entering, as one must navigate into this bay from the north with full awareness of the outlying hazards.

**Neasham:** Bolinas Bay, an indentation easily seen after rounding Point Reyes, was a



logical place for Drake to anchor on June 17, 1579. His ship lay some four days in the outer harbor, while his small boats searched extensively for the place he sought.

Duxbury Reef would have offered no unusual problem, particularly if seen at low tide above water. Under these conditions it is exposed west of and parallel to Bolinas Point. Drake, an excellent seaman, constantly used the sounding lead whenever his ship was close to land. Doing so, he would have avoided the reef. Also, the reef provides protection from the sea to an anchorage in Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** After navigating the Straits of Magellan, the Golden Gate would have been no challenge for Francis Drake.

George Davidson in 1889 wrote about the ease of entering San Francisco Bay: "Even without artificial safeguards and pilots, the Golden Gate would be one of the very safest entrances, as practically tested by the earlier navigators and by the many thousands of vessels that safely entered and left in the earlier years of California's development."<sup>16</sup>

The Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale (below) and the Carta Particolare, Chart No. XXXIII (opposite), were drawn by cartographer Robert Dudley who may have known Drake. The maps appeared in Dell Arcano del Mare, an atlas published in 1646-47 in Florence, Italy. On the Carta Particolare, *Nova Albion* may be seen on the extreme eastern edge of the coastline. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.





# Tenet

## 4

Identify the "faire and good Baye" (see p. 274) mentioned in Richard Hakluyt's accounts and the "conuenient and fit harborough" (see p. 278) described in *The World Encompassed*.

**Guild:** The accounts imply both a bay and a harbor where Drake landed, but that they were not one and the same is shown by Robert Dudley's Manuscript Chart No. 85 which shows a bay with an inner waterway labeled *Il Por:to boniss.<sup>mo</sup>* ("the best of ports").

Drakes Bay in fact meets the criteria of Hakluyt's "faire and good Baye," "faire" meaning attractive and impressive. It is good in the nautical sense of having no dangers to navigation and providing good shelter and good holding ground with reasonable depths for anchoring.

Drakes Estero is a harbor and was so used by small vessels into the 1920's. For Drake's purposes, "conuenient and fit" would have referred to the inner cove suitable for careening, ready access to the sea, an adjacent beach where fort and camp were close to the careening site, a fresh-water spring nearby, a ready source of victuals, and a site from which he could keep surveillance of the outer bay.

**Neasham:** The identification of Bolinas Bay and its inner harbor, Bolinas Lagoon, as the sites of Drake's anchorages is based on their locations at 37° 54' and 37° 55', which agree essentially with the latitude given in Hakluyt's account. Also in agreement is Robert Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale in Arcano del Mare*, which shows the anchorage at approximately the same latitude, below 38°.

The finding by this writer in September, 1973, of what in all probability are the remains of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon further identifies the anchorages and landing site. After arriving at Bolinas Bay on June 17, the *Golden Hinde* lay at anchor a considerable distance offshore for some four days. During this time Indians in canoes were observed, and Drake's small boat looked for fresh drinking water and a safe place to repair the ship. These were soon found on the secluded west shore of Bolinas Lagoon, and the ship was brought to its careenage site on June 21.

**Power:** The "Baye" in Hakluyt's account and the "harborough" in *The World Encompassed* are one and the same body of water. There is no significance to the editorial choice of nouns "Baye" or "harborough," as they are synonyms in these two principal Drake accounts.

The identification of the "Baye/harborough" as San Francisco Bay is indicated by Hakluyt's account which states, "It pleased God to send vs into a fair and good Baye with a good winde to enter same." This reflects the experience of discovering the only sea-level bernoulli wind on the Pacific coast, a wind which blows through the Golden Gate on most summer afternoons. The Elizabethans, of course, did not understand this phenomenon caused by hot air rising in the Central Valley of California and, therefore, merely observed, "It pleased God."

San Francisco Bay is the only California anchorage suitable for careenage which has this climatic characteristic associated with its entrance, and it is the only harbor in 38° which the fully laden *Golden Hinde* could have safely entered with "a good winde." Once inside, Drake searched the "Baye/harborough" for three full days for a careenage cove, suggesting an exploration area comparable to that of northern San Francisco Bay.



## *The Debate*



GUILD: Drake's Cove on the left in the 1952 air photo (left) of the entrance to Drakes Estero evidences a land spit and island corresponding to the features in the Hondius map's Portus Plan insert. Note the absence of breakers in the channel entrance to the estero. U.S. Department of Agriculture.

GUILD: In the photo (below) of Drakes Bay and Point Reyes, Drake's Cove, now filled, is on the far side of the estero entrance. Note that hills surround the cove from which Indians were described as descending to Drake's fort. Aero Photographers, Sausalito.





NEASHAM: In this aerial photograph of Bolinas Lagoon in 1953, an arrow points to the suggested site of Drake's fort. California Department of Water Resources.

**Guild:** Mr. Power may believe that "harbor" and "bay" are synonymous, but in the strict sense, a bay is a recess, or indentation, between two headlands and is so defined by Sir Henry Mainwaring in 1623 in his *Seaman's Dictionary*. A bay is open to the sea, whereas a harbor is protected by natural or man-made features. In England, waterways with a constricted entrance, such as San Francisco Bay, are called harbor, e.g. Portsmouth Harbor.

In modern times, the word "bay" has been used indiscriminately, but in all Spanish accounts, San Francisco Bay is called *estero*, or *puerto*, never *bahía* (bay). In 1792, Vancouver called it "Port of San Francisco" and stated, "we found ourselves in a very spacious sound. . . ." <sup>17</sup> In 1826, Beechey called it both "port" and "harbor." <sup>18</sup> Drake's first impression would not have called to mind the word "bay."

With respect to Hakluyt's "good winde" for entering, there is nothing wrong with a beam wind, as in the case of entering Drakes Bay. It is one of a ship's best points of

sailing, and, in this situation, to stop headway either the fore or mainsail can be backed. The ship can also come about much quicker than if the wind is from aft.

Regarding Bolinas Bay, this identification cannot be pin-pointed by latitude. Dr. Neasham has yet to prove identification of his fort, so in no way can it identify this bay as Drake's anchorage.

**Neasham:** The identification of a "faire and good Baye" and the "conuenient and fit harborough" has been made for Bolinas Bay and its inner harbor, Bolinas Lagoon. The fully laden *Golden Hinde*, with the help of the northwest wind, could have safely entered them and anchored.

Bolinas Lagoon for Drake's purposes was convenient and fit. Protected and secluded, it was suitable for careening. It had ready access to the sea. Its west shore, where the fort was constructed, was close to the careening site, and a good water supply was available nearby, as was food. Surveillance of the outer bay was possible from the adjacent hills.

**Power:** The Guild is in forfeit on this crucial Tenet. The intention of this Tenet was to match the "Baye" in Hakluyt's account and the "harborough" in *The World Encompassed* with Marin geography.

The Guild reluctantly admits the implication that the "Baye" and "harborough" in the two written accounts are "one and the same" body of water. Unable to match the evidence concerning the "Baye/harborough" to one body of water at Point Reyes, they improperly introduce a Dudley chart of questionable validity to contradict the written accounts. They can make some of the evidence match Drakes Bay and some Drakes Estero, but neither match both the "Baye" and the "harborough" in the written accounts.

In rejecting this crucial correlation between *The World Encompassed* and the Hakluyt's account, the Guild has shattered the policy of their organization to consider and apply evidence "by strict interpretation without omission in whole or part."

Dr. Neasham does not admit that the "Baye" and "harborough" are one and the same body of water. Dr. Neasham in his statement on the immediately preceding Tenet, states that Drake entered Bolinas Bay, and now in this Tenet he alleges, "The *Golden Hinde* lay at anchor a considerable distance off shore for some four days," presumably outside the small roadstead called Bolinas Bay.

**Guild:** We do not admit that "Baye" and "harborough" are one. Drakes Bay is "Baye" and Drakes Estero is "harborough." Nowhere is it shown in any account that the two words are one and the same.

At Bolinas there is also a "Baye" and separate "harborough," but there is nothing to show that Drake could have entered the latter.

**Neasham:** The "faire and good Baye" was Bolinas Bay; the "conuenient and fit harborough" was Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** I know as fact that "bay" and "harbour" were synonymous in Elizabethan times. Hakluyt, in the "Catalogue" to his 1600 edition (see p. 276) says there is "a very good harbour" in Nova Albion, but in the text he states it was a "faire and good Bay."<sup>19</sup> There is no higher authority than Hakluyt on this issue.

The Guild also alleges that an Englishman would have called San Francisco Bay a harbor rather than a bay because it has a "constricted entrance." The Guild introduced Dudley's Manuscript Chart No. 85 into this Tenet on which is depicted an eighteen-mile-wide anchorage with a constricted entrance ten miles wide. The place name given this protected anchorage is B:[aia] d: Nova Albion, i.e. Bay of Nova Albion. The Guild cancelled their rebuttal with their own exhibit.



## Tenet 5

The World Encompassed reported that Drake's ship, "having received a leak at sea" (see p. 280), needed to be brought to shore and unloaded for repair. Discuss the suitability of the proposed landing site for careening and graving.

**Guild:** It was reported that Drake's ship received a leak at sea and needed to be moved close to shore and unloaded to accomplish repair. According to the same source, the *Golden Hinde* had a loaded draft of about 13 feet; unloading would have reduced this to 7 or 8 feet. If unloading exposed the leak, no further operations were required. If not, grounding at high tide would reveal 5 or 6 feet more of hull at low tide, but on this coast, grounding would not expose the keel or bottom. To do so, careening, by which a lightened ship is heeled over afloat, is required. Most important, repair work can be left open because the ship is always afloat. But careening would have been necessary regardless to clean and retallow the bottom, and because of frequent need, it was probably resorted to here.

Drake, not knowing the extent of repair required, needed a protected harbor in which to careen. Drake's Cove fills this need. Channel soundings show that the cove is accessible from the sea, and the cove, itself once part of the channel, would have sufficient depth for careening. It is protected from the sea and out of tidal currents, and its sand banks make a good bed for grounding the ship as an alternate to careening.

**Neasham:** Protected from north and northwest winds by hills to the south, west, and north and on calm water, the west shore of Bolinas Lagoon, subject to the normal rise and fall of coastal tides, was an ideal place for repairing the *Golden Hinde*. Safe from prying Spanish eyes, the ship could have been brought close to shore here at high tide for careening and graving without great difficulty.

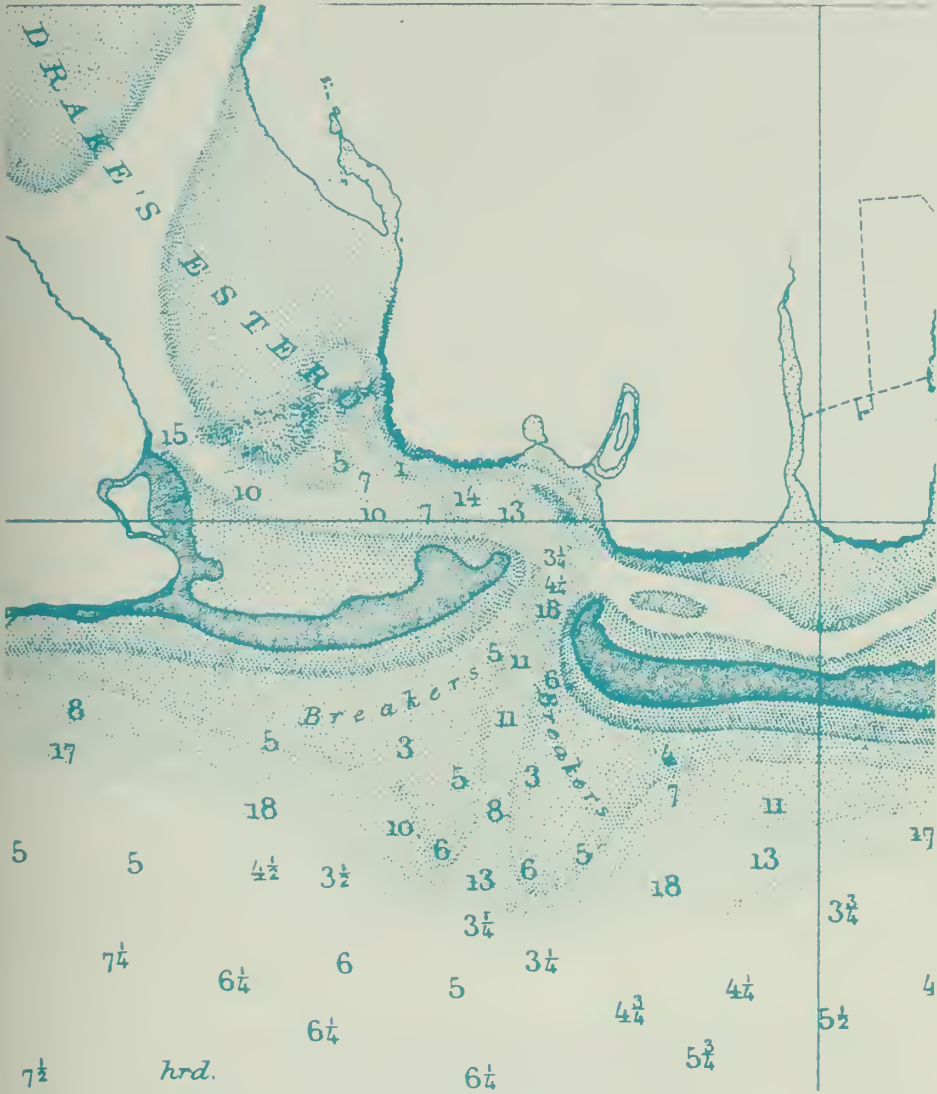
In 1579 Bolinas Lagoon was much more open than it is today. Since then many geological changes have occurred. The lagoon has silted in, partly by sands resulting from mining activities after 1848 and also from lumbering and farming operations above the lagoon in the second half of the nineteenth century. After 1850 lumber schooners and lighters, some said to be larger than the *Golden Hinde*, used the deeper waters of the lagoon, crossing into it at high tide and anchoring at the wharf on its upper northwest shore.

**Power:** The old cove, *Bahía de las Calaveras*, at Point San Quentin on San Francisco Bay was specifically used in historic times to careen sailing ships. It, therefore, is *prima facie* a suitable careenage and graving cove for the *Golden Hinde*.

This is established by a map,<sup>20</sup> circa 1860, in San Quentin Prison records which bares a legend, "Whaling ships careened here for cleaning." The careenage site requirements of Captain Drake and captains of whaling ships circa 1850, so far as can be known today, would have been similar.

**Guild:** We admit the suitability of the old cove at San Quentin Prison for careening, but do not see that it is any more suitable than the cove at Drakes Estero.

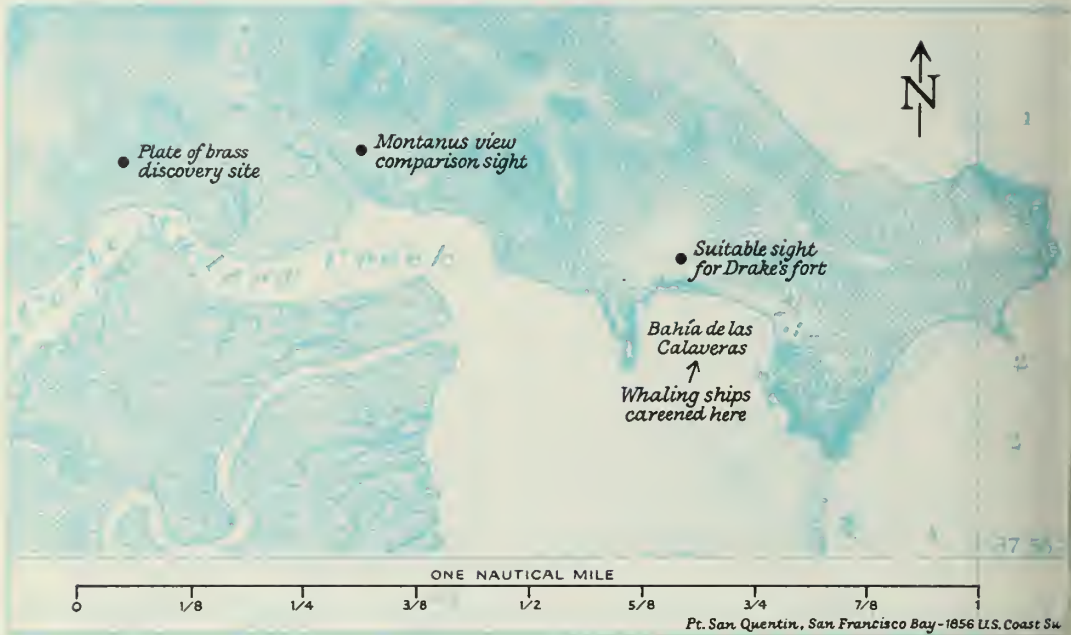
Regarding Bolinas Lagoon, the 1859 U.S. Coast Survey chart, *Entrance to San Francisco Bay*, shows only 2 feet of water at the lagoon's mouth, just as today. An allowance of 5 to 6 feet for high tide would not permit the *Golden Hinde* to enter this lagoon, much less find sufficient depth of water nearby Dr. Neasham's fort where, by the text of *The World Encompassed*, she careened. On this chart we find there only a small, backwater slough not likely to have had sufficient water even in Drake's time.



#### SOUNDINGS

The Soundings are expressed in feet to 18 feet, or within the dotted surfaces, beyond them in fathoms and show the depth at the mean of the lowest low water of each 24 hours the plane of reference. The dotted surfaces beyond low water mark represent the bottom within the respective depths of 6, 12 and 18 feet. The characteristic soundings only are given on the map, they are selected from the numerous soundings taken in the survey, so as to represent the figure of the bottom.

GUILD: In this detail from the 1860 U.S. Coast Survey chart of Drakes Bay, depths on the bar and channel of Drakes Estero refer to mean lower low water. In 1595 Cermeño reported 3 fathoms on the bar (16.5 feet at high water).



POWER: The only anchorage discussed in this debate which was ever used to careen sailing ships is this whaler's cove (above) at San Quentin on San Francisco Bay, where Drake could have safely "entrenched himself on land" in "walls of stone."  
Robert H. Power Collection.

POWER: The Golden Hinde could not have cleared the bar to enter Bolinas Lagoon in 1859 (opposite). There are indications that similar conditions existed in 1579. Neasham's alleged "fort" in the marsh is most likely an old pond.  
Robert H. Power Collection.

Channel depths are governed by the lagoon's tidal prism, the volume of water enclosed between planes of mean higher high water and mean lower low water, which is the average volume of water that flows in and out during the tidal cycle. A constant ratio exists between the cross-sectional area of the entrance and the volume of the tidal prism.

Because of geographical configuration, Bolinas Lagoon was not likely to have ever had a significantly greater tidal prism, despite the adverse effects postulated by Dr. Neasham, which cannot be verified.

**Neasham:** Various harbors in California would be suitable for careening and graving, including Drakes Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and San Francisco Bay. To choose any one of the three to the exclusion of the others, so far as careenage possibilities are concerned, would be questionable. All three have access from the sea and have sufficient depth for careening; all, in selected spots, have (or had) a good bed for grounding as an alternative to careening.

**Power:** The Guild has created a geographic myth that they named "Drake's Cove"<sup>21</sup>





in order to provide an anchorage suitable for carenage in the Point Reyes area. Today this so-called "cove" is filled with rock, sand, and drift, and part of it has been there long enough that Coast Miwok Indians (Mrn 233)<sup>22</sup> encamped on it.

The Guild claims the channel soundings show that the entrance was navigable for the *Golden Hinde*, but their mentor George Davidson also wrote concerning this very possibility: "It [the channel] has only thirteen feet of water on the bar at the highest tide and he [Drake] would not have hazarded his vessel [with a 13-foot draft] in entering such a doubtful anchorage."<sup>23</sup>

The Guild says, "The cove itself, once a part of the channel, would have sufficient depth for careening," but they have no possible way to know if their alleged cove was in 1579 a part of the channel, nor its configuration or depth.

Dr. Neasham claims great changes in the depths of Bolinas Lagoon over the last century, but a quick review of the 1839 U.S. government chart<sup>24</sup> and 1869 *Coast Pilot*<sup>25</sup> shows there has been little change since the first detailed maps were made. He claims lumber schooners and lighters, "larger than the *Golden Hinde*" entered the Bolinas Lagoon. Draft, however, is the crucial point, and these schooners were flat-bottomed, low hulls that could skim across a shallow bars such as at Bolinas.

**Guild:** Drake's Cove is geologically a cove, a fact shown by charts and photographs. Archaeological investigation has shown that the sea has filled the outer part, but the inner part remains nearly as it was in 1579, though today artificially impounded.

As for depth on the bar at Drakes Estero entrance, Davidson gives 8 feet,<sup>26</sup> which is referenced to mean lower low water. The range of higher high water for the months of June, July, and August is 4.8 to 7.0 feet,<sup>27</sup> which, added to 8 feet, gives 12.8 to 15 feet over the bar at high tide.

As for depth of the cove, that part of the channel which sometimes passes outside the cove becomes isolated as the channel and spit relocate, and thereby forms the outer, deep-water basin of the cove as seen in 1952. Because this channel shows sufficient depths for the *Golden Hinde* and the tidal prism maintains a relatively constant channel cross-section, we conclude that the cove was adequate.

Mrn 233 is at the base of the bluffs on the north side of the cove, not on the filled area. For comment to Dr. Neasham, see our first response.

**Neasham:** The *Golden Hinde* would have had no difficulty in entering Bolinas Lagoon in 1579, as then it was open. The Portolá expedition of 1769 sighted Bolinas Bay from the San Francisco headlands and reported there were only two "middling islets" at the mouth of the lagoon.<sup>28</sup>

By 1849, lumbering operations had begun above the lagoon, and a wharf was constructed at its head. By 1857 it had become unusable, because of erosion and rapid sedimentation caused by timber cutting.

The sedimentation also affected shipbuilding at Bolinas Lagoon, where between 1852 and 1870 ten schooners were built. Most of them were 40–70 feet in length, drawing 4 to 7.5 feet of water. The largest had a capacity of 80 tons (the *Golden Hinde* had 100). The U.S. Geological Survey, quoting Munro-Fraster, states:

When vessels first began to sail into the port [Bolinas], a schooner drawing 10 feet of water could pass over the bar [outside the inlet] with ease at any stage of the tide, while now [1880] the same draught of vessel can barely pass at the highest stage; and where those large vessels lay at the [Bolinas] wharf, the depth of water will not admit of more than a fishing smack.<sup>29</sup>

**Power:** I agree with the Guild in their evaluation of Bolinas Lagoon as an unsuitable careenage site.

The Guild, however, would have been more helpful if they had shown how Drakes Estero without the mythical "Drake's Cove" would have functioned as a careenage anchorage. The Guild has failed to establish Drakes Estero as a suitable careenage anchorage.

## Tenet

### 6

*Conscious that his crew would need to supplement their meager supplies with food and water from the land while the Golden Hinde was undergoing repair, Drake chose to camp at a site at which such supplies were readily accessible. Discuss the suitability of the proposed site for watering and victualling.*

**Guild:** *The World Encompassed* states that the English provided themselves with victuals of "Muscles, Seales, and such like" (see p. 284). Today, numerous harbor seals can be seen on sand bars in Drakes Estero. A few of these could have been taken, but large

herds of sea lions abound on the south side of Point Reyes. These would have been seen by Drake on the way into Drakes Bay, and he could have easily returned later in his ship's boat to take enough for all his needs.

Drakes Estero abounds in shell fish, which provided a large part of the diet of the local Indians. Many could have been taken at Drake's camp, with the boat providing the opportunity to range farther afield.

There is a spring on the north side of Drake's Cove that once provided water for horses bringing dairy products to the schooners and more recently to a cabin on the shore of the cove. The explorer Cermeño apparently reported Indian habitation there in 1595, and such habitation is verified by a midden on the site, Mrn 233.

**Neasham:** In the vicinity of Bolinas Lagoon, Drake and his men found excellent drinking water. A bountiful supply was available at nearby springs and from what is now McCormick Creek, which courses its way eastward to the lagoon from the hills to the northwest. The many Indian sites on the banks of this rather large creek which flows all year long indicate its importance as a source of constant water to the area's inhabitants.

According to *The World Encompassed* food was procured in the form of "Muscles, Seales, and such like." Birds were also utilized for food, and inland from the fort were seen many elk and conies. The Indians may have provided the Englishmen some food—fish, shellfish, birds, conies, elk, and deer. Bread made from the root, *Petáh*, or from acorns, may also have been supplied. Evidence of the kinds of food obtained by Drake and his men is to be found in Indian sites on or near Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** Repeated occupation of Point San Quentin by whalers, adventurers, prisoners, and their custodians establishes that Point San Quentin was suitably endowed with sufficient fresh water, wood, and easy access to the victuals of the land and bay to keep the Elizabethans content. Specifically, the 1860 map of San Quentin noted above states that *Bahía de las Calaveras* was not only used by whaling vessels but was an encampment site for Captain John Sutter. The most significant anchorage to its present use took place on July 14, 1852, when the state prison brig was moved from San Francisco to this San Quentin cove.

**Guild:** Drake could have watered and victualled at San Francisco Bay, Bolinas Bay, or Drakes Bay. The victuals mentioned in the accounts are present at all sites under discussion.

**Neasham:** All three sites—Drakes Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and San Francisco Bay—satisfy the requirements for Drake's anchorage, so far as food and water are concerned. No one of the three has special advantages over the others. Bolinas Lagoon, near the site of Drake's fort, does have an all-year stream flowing into it, on the banks of which are several Indian sites. The estero at Drakes Bay does not, at least at its entrance. Corte Madera Creek on San Francisco Bay is subject to salty tidal action above Point San Quentin.

**Power:** I see no conflict here.

**Guild:** See our statement and first response.

**Neasham:** Water and food were available at San Francisco Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and Drakes Bay.

**Power:** No response.



## Tenet

## 7

*According to The World Encompassed, Drake's men constructed a fort "for the defence of our selues and goods" (see p. 280) while they repaired his ship. Discuss the suitability of the anchorage site for location of a fort and how the fort was constructed.*

**Guild:** *The World Encompassed* locates Drake's fort so that goods landed and work on the ship would be under its protection in the event of Indian attack. Accounts state that it was built at the bottom of a hill and so near that an Indian at its top wearied the English below with a long and tedious oration, every gesture and movement plainly seen.<sup>30</sup>

The Hondius map inset, known as the Portus Plan, shows what is probably a square fort enclosing tents on the shore, with hills on the right, beach on the left, and it is basically in context with the accounts. At Drake's Cove, the fort was on the beach near the hill that lies between the cove and outer bay.

*The World Encompassed* states that the English set up their tents and "intrenched ourselves with walls of stone" (see p. 281); the de Bry account mentions "fieldworks." This fort, in keeping with the practice of the day and Drake's earlier practice, was thus surrounded by a trench, material from which made the walls. But sand makes a poor wall, and we conclude that in an area without wood, stones from the beach, which abound at this site, were used to face the walls.

Orienting the fort as shown in the Hondius inset, one wall fronted the hill for maximum protection from its crest. The corners on each side provided cross fire for attack from around the cliff on the outer beach and from around the hill on the cove. Of the other two corners, one commanded the cove, the other the beach and estero entrance.

**Neasham:** The west side of Bolinas Lagoon was an ideal site for Drake's fort, which he had built by June 23 on the flat adjacent to a hill. Although temporary, it provided ample protection. The walls were earthen, thrown-up by shovel from the surface. They may have been faced with stone gathered from the beach or other nearby source. Wood posts or pickets possibly may have been used, as Drake had done on an earlier occasion in the West Indies.

The only known sixteenth-century representation of Drake's fort is depicted in Hondius' *Portus Novae Albionis*, published in 1589. This shows the structure to have been square, without bastions, and with walls less than 100 feet long.

**Power:** The shore of the cove *Bahía de las Calaveras* at Point San Quentin meets all the requirements for the site of Drake's fort. *The World Encompassed* states, "We set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselves with walls of stone" (see p. 281). This "fort" or "fenced place" or "bulwarke" was built by the Elizabethans "to keepe off the enemye (if they should so proue) from comming amongst vs without our goodwill."

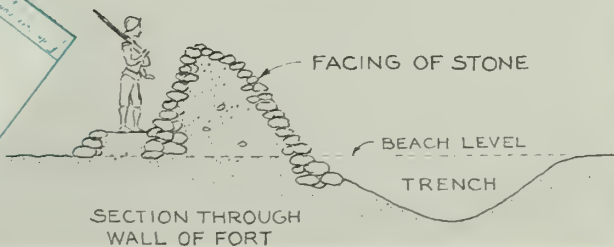
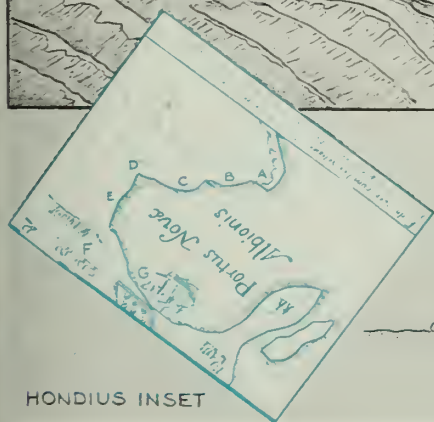
There is no inference that Drake was concerned with pursuing Spaniards. San Francisco Bay would have provided assurance against discovery by pursuit.

The walls of stone are diagrammed as a rectangle (or square) enclosure on the *Portus*

**GUILD:** *This drawing (opposite) reconstructs Drake's Cove and the proposed encampment in 1579 (low tide aspect). The inner cove has been determined by archaeological investigation. Note where the Indian stands in the water at point G in the inset. Drawing by Raymond Aker.*

*Novæ Albionis*. An unexplainable square fence or wall appears on the first detailed survey of the cove at Point San Quentin by the United States Coast Survey.

*The World Encompassed* states that on "the top of the hill, at the bottome where of wee had built our fort, . . . their chiefe speaker . . . delivered" (see p. 281) a tedious oration which could be plainly heard within the fort. This same hill evidently separated the English tents from an Indian village three-quarters of a mile distant. An Indian village is shown on the 1860 map of Point San Quentin over the hill from the anchorage cove.



**Guild:** At Point San Quentin there was no need to build a fort with walls of stone. The earth from a trench around its perimeter would have been sufficient for the walls.

An unexplained square form on the U.S.C.S. survey cited by Mr. Power does not necessarily reflect Drake's small fort. Mr. Power points out that Sutter camped there, whalers careened there, and in 1852 the state prison brig was moved there. The 1860 map of San Quentin shows a square corral near the prison, and it seems probable that the survey shows a similar structure.

*The World Encompassed* does not say that a hill lay between the fort and the Indian habitation three-quarters of a mile distant. Because of the hill that does intervene at San Quentin cove, voices said to have been heard from the habitation could not have been heard there.

Dr. Neasham's fort is contradicted by the accounts. There is no evidence of a trench around the fort nor stones, as required by *The World Encompassed*. The accounts state that Drake's fort was close to the bottom of a hill, but the closest hill to the fort is 750 feet away to the south. The site is in a pasture surrounded on three sides by hills, none of which are close enough to have any relationship to the descriptions in the accounts.

**Neasham:** Drake's fort was not directly at the bottom of the hill. In *The World Encompassed* the Indians were described as approaching the fort for a distance *after* descending the hill (see p. 283). Drake, knowledgeable in military matters, would have placed the fort more than an arquebus shot away—several hundred feet. To have placed it at the base would have subjected it to attack from above. This is one of the factors against the site suggested for the so-called Drake's Cove. If situated there at the bottom of the hill, it would be too vulnerable to attack, despite the provision for cross-fire from the corners.

The suggestion that an unexplained square fence or wall on the first detailed survey by the U.S.C.S. of the cove at Point San Quentin on San Francisco Bay also does not apply so far as Drake's fort is concerned. In all probability this was a nineteenth-century structure.

**Power:** "Sand makes a poor wall" is an understatement. It makes no wall at all, and facing a sand pile with water-tumbled "stones from the beach" would have added little stability to the mound. In addition, the "Catalogue" to the 1600 edition of Hakluyt's account (see p. 276) says Drake "entrenched himselfe on land," not sand. The sandspit at Drakes Estero does not provide a suitable entrenchment area for Drake's fort.

The west side of Bolinas Lagoon was marshland in 1859 and, by recent projections,<sup>31</sup> even more of a marsh in 1579, and therefore, it is hardly "an ideal site for Drake's fort." There is no suggestion of a moat in the accounts.

**Guild:** Damp sand from a trench surrounding the fort, buttressed with stone, makes a wall.

*The World Encompassed* states that the fort was not only at the bottom of a hill, but also says that Indians at the foot of the hill were "neere our fort." Several hundred feet is not near.

The fort at the cove could have been farther away, but one breastwork with palisades parallel to the hill was adequate to command the exposed brow about 200 feet away, which could also be raked by gun-fire from the ship.

**Neasham:** Soil profiles of archeological investigations at the suggested Drake fort site at Bolinas Lagoon reveal shallow excavations inside and outside the walls, the depth of which was necessarily limited by the high water table. The use of the word "stone" in *The World Encompassed* may in reality have meant earth; or perhaps some stone was



used for facing. Various historic structures in the United States using timber and stone show no evidence of such today, the materials having been utilized elsewhere for construction by early settlers.

The hill to the south of the fort site, about 700 feet away, would be the one used by the Indians in visiting the fort. The statement that the fort "is in a pasture surrounded on three sides by hills" is misleading. Whereas Drake's fort was near the water's edge, a 25-acre fill for pasturage was put in east of the fort in 1872, at the time the duck pond was constructed.<sup>32</sup> Two levies or dikes were also constructed to keep out tidal waters. Thus, the present appearance of the fort in a pasture.

Studies by the U.S. Geological Survey reveal that Bolinas Lagoon was not "even more of a marsh in 1579." On the contrary, the progression of siltation has increased dramatically since the 1850's.

**Power:** Point San Quentin with its earth and bountiful quantity of rock is a very suitable place for Drake to entrench himself on land within walls of stone.

In contrast, the soft sand on the spit at Drakes Bay beach would not allow a firm entrenchment.

It is utterly preposterous for Dr. Neasham to have begun this debate: "The probable discovery of Francis Drake's . . . fort . . . on Bolinas Lagoon. . . ." A field trip to the alleged fort site on June 12, 1974, revealed that the excavations there should be titled, "An Examination of Dikes and Levies as Used in the Salt Marsh at Bolinas Lagoon." To associate the name "Drake" or the word "fort" with this site is journalistic sensationalism which might be suitable for a tabloid sold in supermarkets, but has no place in a serious historical paper.

*NEASHAM: This 1973 photograph shows the suggested site of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon. A reservoir was constructed in 1872 over an earlier structure. Photo by W. E. Pritchard.*



## Tenet 8

*Accounts of the voyage report that Drake's men experienced severe and uncomfortable weather on the west coast of North America. What do the accounts' descriptions of weather and climate contribute to the identification of Drake's anchorage?*

**Guild:** Drake's port did not have a comfortable climate. *The World Encompassed* plainly states that from June 17 to July 23, the English were continually visited there by the same nipping cold they had felt to the north. For two weeks at the port it was not clear enough to take the altitude of sun or star. Reference is made to "those thicke mists and most stinking fogges" (see p. 279). Only the coastal fog which prevails here in those months can account for this condition.

*The World Encompassed* used nearly a thousand words to describe, complain of, and explain the cold, fog, and wind at this place. John Drake said the climate was temperate, more cold than hot. Sir William Monson said the people of Nova Albion lived in "great extremity of cold." Robert Dudley, writing of the cold encountered at landfall, said of Drake's port that "it was quite cold there too."

Point Reyes is noted for its fog; this fog is well known for its cold, penetrating quality. Here, also, the prevailing northwest wind sweeps across the peninsula and funnels down Drakes Estero as a north wind; both winds are mentioned as "constant" at Drake's port in *The World Encompassed*.

**Neasham:** *The World Encompassed* vividly describes the weather at Drake's encampment, including the fact that because of "thicke mists and most stinking fogges," for a period of fourteen days it was impossible to take the height of the sun or stars. Extreme coldness was also encountered, which was attributed to north and northwest winds from snow-covered mountains to the north. The resulting general "squalidnesse and barrenesse of the countrey" was indeed a contrast to England and the lush tropics from which Drake and his men had come.

The above-described conditions can be attributed to the coastal region north of San Francisco Bay, including Bolinas Bay. During the summer months, particularly, northwest winds, cool weather, and fogs are predominant there. Modern weather data verify the fact that on occasion from June to September the sun is not seen for several days at a time, even for periods exceeding the fourteen days mentioned in *The World Encompassed*.

**Power:** Hakluyt's account makes only two statements obliquely related to the climate encountered the day of arrival in the Bay of Nova Albion; both favor a San Francisco Bay thesis. The first was the observation that the "white . . . cliffes lie towards the sea" (see p. 276), or, as an eighteenth-century edition restated it, "The white cliffes . . . are seen at a good distance at sea."<sup>33</sup> The Elizabethan's ability to notice from "a good distance at sea" not only the geographic form but the reflective quality of these cliffs that are white establishes that the morning of June 17 was without haze or heavy overcast.

The same eighteenth-century version of Hakluyt's account relates how in "38 degrees . . . he found a very excellent bay, which he entered with a favorable gale." This is typical afternoon weather at the Golden Gate.

*The World Encompassed* has a long reflective essay on the unfavorable climate of Nova Albion, but of some interest is the statement that after leaving the Farallon Islands on

July 25, "The cold not only continued but increased . . . the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest" (see p. 286). This observation suggests that there had been a respite from the northwest wind and the extreme coastal climate such as would have been the case if they had anchored in San Francisco Bay.

**Guild:** Hakluyt's account does not establish time of arrival at Drake's anchorage or the state of weather at the time. The eighteenth-century "restated" and corrupted version of Hakluyt cited by Mr. Power is not a reliable source of evidence and should not be considered when the original is at hand.

The statement in *The World Encompassed* regarding the weather at departure from the Farallones confirms prior statements about the continuing bad weather at Nova Albion and merely points up the difficulty of returning north.

Weather at Bolinas Lagoon is similar to Drakes Estero but not as severe. Dr. Neasham's fort is considerably more sheltered than the Guild site at Drakes Estero. Though the northwest wind mentioned in *The World Encompassed* is present at Bolinas, the north wind also mentioned is not a result of surrounding topography.

**Neasham:** The climate and weather described in *The World Encompassed* applies to the coastal region north of San Francisco Bay, including Bolinas and Drakes Bays. "Stinking fogges," which made it impossible to take the height of the sun or stars for a period of fourteen days, cannot be ascribed to San Francisco Bay. At Point San Quentin during the summer months, fog usually burns off by noon.

As for the north and northwest winds, these correlate to Bolinas Lagoon, where a northwest wind becomes a north wind on being channeled down the rift of the San Andreas Fault from Tomales Bay through the Olema Valley and Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** The Guild and Dr. Neasham both neglected to use the full quotation or put it into its proper context, and therefore, they erroneously claim this quotation suggested a coastal anchorage.

The statement about "stinking fogges" in *The World Encompassed*, introduced by both the Guild and Dr. Neasham as evidence to support a coastal anchorage, warrants discussion.

*The World Enconipassed* states that they "cast anchor in a bad bay" in the vicinity of what is now Oregon (see p. 278). In that northern bay, they encountered "most uile, thicke and stinking fogges." Then, in the long essay on the climate of Nova Albion, reference is made to "those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much more, by how much higher the pole is raised." The reference to "stinking fogges," if taken in context of where the condition was principally experienced, i.e. Oregon, and if considered in the full quotation, makes it clear that the "fogges" were "so much more" nearer the pole than in the Marin County anchorage (see p. 279).

Drakes Bay by government records has more fog than the Oregon coast, and only San Francisco Bay would have "so much" less of those "thicke mists and most stinking fogges."

**Guild:** Fog is worse at sea than on land at Drakes Bay, where it lifts as overcast during the day.

The prevailing northwest wind passing through Olema Valley would become heated and bring warm air to Bolinas Lagoon, contrary to the descriptions of weather at Drake's camp.

**Neasham:** "Stinking fogges" apply to the coasts of California and Oregon.

**Power:** The eighteenth-century Drake account is not a "corrupted version" of Drake's



accounts, but a scholarly unbiased interpretation of Elizabethan statements and serves as a valuable historical source for definitions and meanings.

In any case, this Tenet is "sixes and sevens," as several quotations in the accounts favor San Francisco Bay and several favor a coastal anchorage.

## Tenet 9

*Discuss the comparative observation from The World Encompassed that when Drake and his men "made a journey vp into the land . . . to be the better acquainted with the nature and the commodities of the country, . . . the inland we found to be farre different from the shoare . . ." (see p. 285).*

**Guild:** This statement is important to consider in the entire context of the account of Nova Albion. What was the difference between the inland and shore? When was the difference discovered?

The author of the account wrote at length about how bitter a place the shore was where Drake had camped, both in aspect and climate. He used, for example, "how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itselfe" (see p. 279) and "the generall squalidnesse and barrenesse of the countrie" (see p. 279) to describe the place.

Then, after the "necessary businesses were well dispatched," meaning careening and refit of the ship, Drake made "a journey vp into the land." There he found a "goodly country, and fruitful soyle" (see p. 285), far different from the shore. The contrast is emphasized.

This is precisely the difference that is found today between the Drakes Bay shore and Olema Valley beyond Inverness Ridge. At no other suspect area is the contrast so marked as to arouse comment as that between the two sides of this ridge. The difference is not apparent from the shore. It is a significant key to identification of the landing site.

**Neasham:** The country north and inland from Bolinas Lagoon in 1579 was different from the shore. To reach this well-wooded area, *The World Encompassed* indicated, Drake went *up* into the land, or north. Leaving the comparatively barren west shore of the lagoon, on which the predominant plant life was a few native oaks and willows, and which is now marked by many eucalyptus, pine, cedars, and other trees as well, the Englishmen probably went as far as Olema and possibly to Nicasio, where the main Miwok Indian villages were located.

As Drake went up the Olema Valley, the land became more and more wooded, with evidence of oak, pine, buckeye, laurel, and redwood, among other varieties. Eastward, several miles away across Bolinas Lagoon on Bolinas Ridge, was seen much foliage. Tree-lined gullies running east and west from the top of the ridge between barren hills came down to the east shore of the lagoon. East and south of Bolinas Ridge was Mount Tamalpais, the slopes of which were heavily wooded. This feature, mostly hidden by or blended with Bolinas Ridge, could not be seen easily from Drake's fort. Bolinas Point to the west and south was largely barren, covered by dry grass.

**Power:** The observation from *The World Encompassed* reflects a change of opinion by the Elizabethan chronicler about the nature of Nova Albion which was brought about by a "journey vp into the land."

This difference is self-evident between the presumed Drake anchorage at Point San

Quentin and the Novato area twelve miles distant. The Elizabethans on their excursion saw "many houses which made seuerall villages here and there" (see p. 285), i.e., a good-sized Indian village in each valley from San Rafael north. Drake's party found the inland "a goodly country, and fruitful soyle." In the nineteenth century Novato Valley was a productive apple orchard.

*The World Encompassed* further says the inland was "stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man." Specified are "very large and fat Deere [Tule elk], . . . a multitude . . . of conies [ground squirrels]" (see p. 285) and "an herbe much like our lectuce [American milkweed]" (see p. 282). None of these "blessings" were to be found on windy, unfertile, hilly Point San Quentin and thus the fair observation, "The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare."

**Guild:** Mr. Power's argument that Drake went inland to Novato Valley must be weighed against the circumstance in which he places Drake. Drake had two small craft with which to explore the bay long before he went inland. He could have seen the nature of the land for miles around, including the Novato area, either from his boats or from the hills at his camp.

**GUILD:** *This photograph of Olema Valley to Point Reyes shows the marked contrast between inland and shore and Drake's probable route inland over Inverness Ridge. To the right is the junction of Bear Valley Road and Sir Francis Drake Highway. Photo by Robert Allen.*



Novato was not likely to be "farre different" from the land around San Quentin and San Rafael, or any more fertile, or so greatly different in climate as to be *far* different.

Mr. Power's statement regarding Indian Villages taken from *World Encompassed* is misquoted; the villages were not in several valleys but, "being many of them [houses] in one place, made seuerall villages here and there" (see p. 285).

Going "up into the land" does not necessarily mean going north, as Dr. Neasham suggests. One can also go up a grade, such as Inverness Ridge at Drakes Bay, or up a river, in whatever direction.

At Bolinas Lagoon, Drake's vision was not restricted to what can be seen from the fort. He had a boat and would have been all over the lagoon and its shores, foraging for game, etc. The shores of Bolinas Lagoon are not the country described at Drake's camp, nor are the environs of this fort correlative. Inland, Olema Valley is not so far different as to arouse comment, whereas at Drakes Bay when one crosses Inverness Ridge, one finds a marked difference.

**Neasham:** There is a marked difference between the shore of Drake's encampment at Bolinas Lagoon and the country inland up the Olema Valley. This also applies to Drakes Estero and a journey across Inverness Ridge to the vicinity of Olema. It does not apply as easily to the area of Point San Quentin. While Point San Quentin is somewhat barren, one would not have to go as far as Novato to find fruitful soil. Spanish maps after 1776 show tufts of wood immediately adjacent to Point San Quentin.

**Power:** The Guild does not answer this Tenet; instead, it asks the rhetorical questions, "What was the difference between the inland and shore? What was the difference discovered?" But they utterly fail to inform the reader of the answers.

The Guild has no way of saying with any authority that the quotations from *The World Encompassed* ("... how vnhandsome and deformed ..." and "the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse ...") only apply to the anchorage area of Nova Albion rather than Oregon or up in the land, nor do they establish why the statements don't apply to the San Francisco Bay shore.

On the other side of the contrast, the Guild implies that Olema Valley is a "goodly country, and fruitfull soyle." Olema Valley in reality is a small 250-acre flood plain bounded on the west by low rift hills with little, if any, "fruitfull soyle."

Dr. Neasham identifies the inland as "Olema, and possibly Nicasio, where the main Miwok villages were located." The main Miwok villages were not in Olema or Nicasio, but from San Rafael north to Olompali.

**Guild:** For four consecutive paragraphs, beginning with arrival, *The World Encompassed* reviles the weather and surroundings at the landing place. We ask the reader to read these paragraphs and decide whether they refer to Oregon or Point San Quentin.

Point Reyes peninsula is swept from one side to the other by cold wind and fog—hence its barren, inhospitable aspect. Inverness Ridge cuts off wind and fog; Olema Valley on the inland side has a totally different climate and aspect. Cermeño's expedition, which visited the north end of the valley at the fresh-water marsh, reported: "The country appeared to him to be well adapted to sow and reap any kind of seed, as it looked like the country of Castile and was of good character."<sup>34</sup> Three villages of Indians were found settled there.

Dr. Neasham has been answered in the first response.

**Neasham:** That the Olema Valley occupies only 250 acres of a flood plain would raise the eyebrows of more than one rancher, who, in some instances, can claim the ownership of much larger areas in what historically has been known as the Olema Valley.



Rather large Miwok villages were located at Olema, Nicasio, San Rafael, Olompali, and other sites.

**Power:** Yes, there is a misquote about Indian villages. The quotation marks should be moved three words to the right, but it changes the meaning not an iota.

Speaking of errors, the Guild injects "San Rafael" in the response as if it was part of the shore, while I specifically said it was part of the inland; therefore, I did not allege there was a great difference between San Rafael and Novato.

As to the statement, "Hence comes the generall squalidnesse, and barrennesse of the country," Belvedere and the south face of Tiburon were, by July, brown barren hillsides until trees were planted in the last century.

## Tenet 10

*Botanical observations in The World Encompassed include mention of the Indians' decorative use of "a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the country vpon an herbe, much like our lectuce which exceeds any other downe in the world for finesse," and a description of the landscape which showed "trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes" (see pp. 282 and 279). Correlate these observations with the flora of the proposed landing site.*

**Guild:** The Drake accounts make several references to flora and plant products seen by Drake at Nova Albion. None are significant to specific identification of a landing site inasmuch as counterparts can be found almost anywhere in the area. Nevertheless, correlative plants must be present at the site. Counterparts for each in the Drakes Bay area are fully explained in Drake Navigators Guild documents.

The "certain downe" referred to compares with *Rafinesquia californica*, a native species closely related to English wild lettuce, which grows in Olema Valley. It bears a soft down.<sup>35</sup>

"Trees without leaues" compare with the blue blossom (*Ceanothus thyrsiflorus*), a large, evergreen shrub that grows to the size and shape of a small tree and often carries whole, apparently dead, leafless branches on a living tree. These are found at Drake's Cove and in the Drakes Bay area.<sup>36</sup>

"Ground without greenes" compares with the dry ground, dead grass, and small plant life typical of this area in summer.<sup>37</sup>

**Neasham:** The phrase "Trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes" aptly describes the Bolinas area during late July. The trees without leaves were probably buckeye. These are readily observed today on the slopes of Bolinas Ridge.

The down from an herb "much like our lectuce," which the Indians used as well as its seeds, could have come from several plants. Probably it was milkweed. Milkweed and two varieties of thistles were observed in August and September, 1973, at the suggested site of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon. All three have down and seeds.

Stocks of wood, pricking bushes, and bulrushes undoubtedly refer to various shrubs common to the Bolinas region, including wild rose and tule. *Petáh* (see p. 283) was the Yampa root, according to some authorities, and tabá, called "tabacco" in Hakluyt's account (see p. 275) may have been Jimson weed. The Miwok word, "cheepe," denoted bread made from acorns.

**Power:** The lettuce-like plant upon which grows "downe . . . which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse" and which was used by the Indians to decorate their headpieces is easily identifiable as the American milkweed (*Asclepias mexicana*) plant which grows in Marin County only in the valleys "north of San Rafael."<sup>88</sup> Milkweed down has a  $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch staple that can be easily used for headpiece decoration. This down is easily collected and has a resilient character like silken goose down, yet its structure is finer than either silk or down.

The unity noted between the two plants is the free-flowing *lactus* or milk in the stems; the disunity is the finest usable down produced by the American milkweed.

The "trees without leaues" are identifiable as the buckeye tree. This is the first tree to enter its autumn season, beginning in early July in the warm and dry parts of the San Francisco Bay area. However, from Nicasio Valley to the coast the autumn season for the buckeye is delayed until late August and into September.

In Marin County the maximum early autumn season of the buckeye tree occurs in the Novato area. There the summer heat and absence of fog yellows and dries the

**POWER:** This aerial photo looking from the Golden Gate northward to Drake's "very good Harbour" in Nova Albion shows the contrast between the rough "shoare" of the Golden Gate and the "inland" of Novato Valley with a vista from Olompali of the Petaluma Creek delta where tule elk once grazed. Acro Photographers, Sausalito.



leaves that are then blown from the twigs by the afternoon breezes, literally creating "trees without leaues" by the end of July.

**Guild:** Comparisons of the flora and plant products with descriptions in the accounts are no more significant in identifying a landing site at San Quentin than at Bolinas Lagoon, or Drakes Bay. They are of interest and importance to the site, but each site has the necessary counterparts.

**Neasham:** Both American milkweed (*Asclepias mexicana*) and *Rafinesquia californica* were observed by this writer at the suggested Drake fort site at Bolinas Lagoon in September, 1973. Both have down and seeds, which the Indians may have used. In addition, the common thistle was found. Thistles growing on middens are a means used by archaeologists to locate Indian sites.

As indicated, the trees without leaves were probably buckeye. *Ceanothus*, with partial dead branches, does not meet fully the descriptive criteria. In July, dry ground, dead grass, and small plants are to be found variously in Marin County, including Drakes Bay, Bolinas Bay, and San Francisco Bay.

**Power:** The Guild identifies *Rafinesquia californica* as the "herbe, much like our lectuce." However, Richard Brown, research biologist for the Point Reyes National Seashore, has never noticed this plant growing in the entire Point Reyes-Olema region.

The Guild fails to indicate why *Rafinesquia*, if it did or does grow in Olema Valley, would have caused so much interest to the English. They make no claim it has free-flowing "milk" in a broken stem, nor do they demonstrate how this short down similar in size to lettuce down could be used to decorate Indian headdresses. They fail to demonstrate that the down is finer than any other to the touch or eye.

The total statement "trees without leaues, and the ground without greenes" suggests an autumn condition in those months of June and July when England is very lush and green. It is grasping for straws to suggest that "a large evergreen shrub . . . [with] live leafless branches on a living tree" would cause this Elizabethan exclamatory observation. "Live leafless branches" on an "evergreen shrub"? This just cannot be a correct observation.

Dr. Neasham apparently failed to note that growing "vp in the country . . . [there is an] herbe much like our lectuce" because he proceeds to discover candidates at Bolinas Lagoon. It is demonstrably not a "thistle," the national symbol of Scotland. As to Dr. Neasham's claims of finding "milkweed" at Bolinas, he must be referring to the European wild lettuce, since American milkweed does not grow at Bolinas.

**Guild:** *Rafinesquia californica* was singled out by the Guild because it is the only local native plant physically similar to wild English lettuce, because it has fine, soft down, collectable seeds, and white sap, and because it matured during Drake's stay.<sup>39</sup> Most important is the down's pinnate structure that gives it a unique tenaciousness suitable to the statement that, being layed upon cauls, "by no winds can be remoued."

White sap is the *only* thing milkweed has in common with English wild lettuce; the lanceolate leaves, fruiting pods, and general aspect are radically different.

"Trees without leaues" were seen in June and July in the environment of the camp on shore, not on the inland journey. *Ceanothus thyrsiflorus* grows to 20 feet high, tall enough to be taken for a small tree.

**Neasham:** Milkweed grows at the suggested Drake fort site at Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** No, every proposed anchorage does not have "comparisons of flora and plant products." For instance, Dr. Neasham incorrectly identified in September, 1973, a plant



as *Asclepias mexicana* (American milkweed) at Bolinas Lagoon. It does not now grow, nor has ever been known to grow, west of Bolinas Ridge. Neasham allows the "trees without leaues" are probably buckeye, but this also is erroneous since he holds to the "country" being Bolinas to Nicasio, while the buckeye's autumn does not occur in that area until after Drake had left California.

*Rafinesquia californica* is no solution to the "herbe much like our lectuce" compared to American milkweed, a popular plant in the age of exploration. John White, for instance, in his famed watercolors of Roanoke, included a watercolor of an eastern variety of milkweed which Drake transported back to England in 1586.

As to trees without leaves, the evergreen shrub, "blue blossom" (*Ceanothus thyrsiflorus*), is not even a worthy candidate for this Tenet even though it is common throughout Marin County.

## Tenet 11

Identify the fauna described in the Drake sources, especially The World Encompassed's observation: "we saue . . . a multitude of a strange kind of Conies . . ." (see p. 285).

**Guild:** Like flora, no special significance can be attached to the references to fauna in the accounts because counterparts are so widespread, but there must be a comparative explanation for each. Comparative identifications are fully described in Guild documents. "A multitude of a strange kinde of Conies" refers to Botta pocket gophers whose burrowings create an apparent warren throughout the Point Reyes peninsula and inland. Identifying features are a rat-like tail, mole-like forepaws, and external, fur-lined pouches under the chin on each side corresponding to the "bagge" mentioned in the accounts.<sup>40</sup>

**Neasham:** The conies seen during Drake's journey up into the land have been identified by various writers since the 1600's as rabbits, ground squirrels, and gophers, among other species. They were probably ground squirrels, because of their location, number, and long tails. On Bolinas Ridge today they are to be seen. Excavation of Indian sites in the Bolinas Lagoon area have revealed the skeletal remains of ground squirrels. Rabbits and gophers are also found in this region, but not in the great quantity recorded in *The World Encompassed*.

**Power:** The "strange kinde of Conies" seen "vp in the land" are identifiable as the California ground squirrel, which had a zoological life zone limited to the northeastern third of Marin County.<sup>41</sup> The "very large and fat Deere, which there we sawe by thousands . . . in a heard" (see p. 285) are identifiable as tule elk. The ground squirrel is associated with warm, open, grassland hills studded with oaks, while the tule elk with marshlands where tule grows.

The only place these two zones meet in Marin County, within the life zone of the ground squirrel, is along the San Pablo Bay shore north of San Rafael into the area of Novato. Therefore, the Elizabethan inland country was the Novato region of Marin County which is easily reached from a San Francisco Bay anchorage.

The identification of the "strange kinde of Conies" as the California ground squirrel is made easy because of the lengthy description given in the accounts. In part this evidence is as follows:

*The World Encompassed* reported that on their journey up into the land they "sawe . . . a multitude" of these conies, i.e. "thousands." The Hakluyt account described the Nova

Albion conies as having "the taile of a Rat being of great length" (see p. 276). This new-found animal also had "the feete of a Want [mole]," identifying the Nova Albion cony as a rodent.

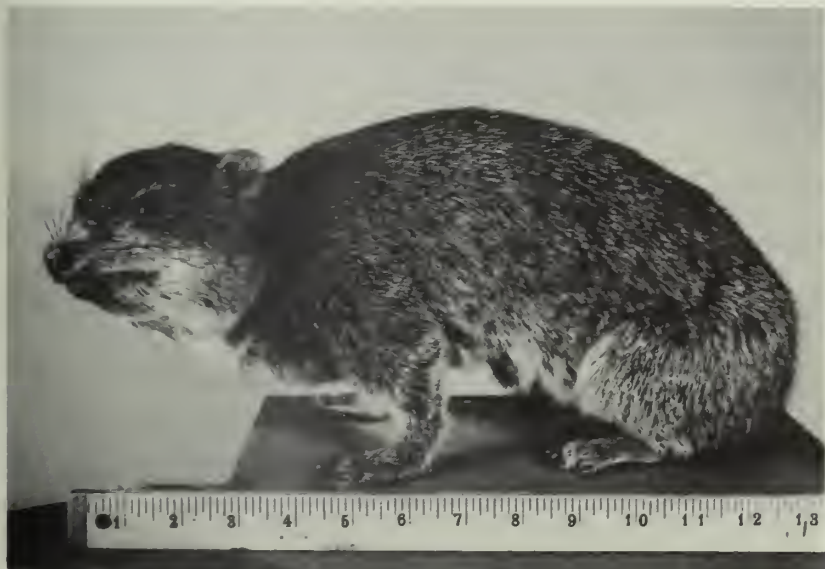
There is more identifying evidence, but space does not allow reporting of redundant evidence that the cony of Nova Albion is the ground squirrel of California.

**Guild:** Each of the sites in question has counterparts to match the descriptions of fauna.

We disagree with Mr. Power's and Dr. Neasham's identification of the "conies" as ground squirrels. The squirrel was no stranger to the English; they were a familiar sight at home, and if the ground squirrel was what they saw, they would have compared it and its parts to one, not to cony, rabbit, rat, and mole. What they saw was an animal that they referred to as "strange," and they compared its parts to animals with which they were familiar.

The key point to identifying the "conie" is the reference to the "bagge" *under the chin* on each side. This is characteristic of the pocket gopher, which has fur-lined pouches under its chin, one on each side extending to its shoulders, an unusual feature. Squirrels carry food in their cheeks. Furthermore, the gopher has the paws of a mole and the naked tail of a rat.

It was not necessary to see these animals in number. *The World Encompassed* infers thousands, which would be extraordinary, but Hakluyt's account makes it evident that



POWER: Ground squirrels (bottom), as Hakluyt reported in 1589, are like "Barbarie Conies" (top), except that the Nova Albion cony has a "tail exceedingly long" and feet of a "wante." The prime range of this rodent is from San Rafael to Novato. California Academy of Sciences.

what was seen were the burrows of the gopher, which are abundant in the Drakes Bay area: "We found the whole Country to be a warren of a strange kind of Conies."

**Neasham:** The conies can be identified as ground squirrels which inhabit the sides of Bolinas Ridge, as well as other parts of Marin County. The words that the tails were "like the tayle of a rat, exceeding long," correctly interpreted, apply to the length of the tail and not to its bushy (or lack of) appearance. The Botta pocket gopher, although having a tail somewhat similar in texture to that of a rat, has a shorter tail, not usually exceeding two inches. This can not be considered as long, like that of a rat.

**Power:** The conies of Nova Albion are not the Botta pocket gopher as alleged by the Guild for several reasons. *The World Encompassed* states, "we sawe . . . a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies." No Californian has ever seen "a multitude" of gophers, as the gopher is a shy nocturnal rodent living most of its life underground. The same source says the tails of the conies were "like the tayle of a Rat [or "cat"<sup>42</sup>], exceeding long." The gopher has a short stubby tail. The Elizabethans watched the cony "gathereth his meate . . . abroad, that he may . . . feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough." The gopher is seldom seen abroad, as it almost never travels from its burrough in daylight hours.

In contrast, the ground squirrel is perky and numerous, his tail is exceedingly long like a "rat" or "cat," and he always gathers "his meate abroad" during the warm daylight hours.

Dr. Neasham is so unspecific that it isn't worth the space in this limited-word debate to respond to his weasel-worded statement.

**Guild:** See our statement and first response.

**Neasham:** Ground squirrels!

**Power:** The ground squirrel was indeed unknown to the Elizabethans. Ingrained in their minds was that squirrels lived in trees while conies lived in the ground. The ground squirrel not only lived in the ground, but it has the head, body, and mannerisms of "Barbarie conies."

The affinity *The World Encompassed* has for comparing ground animals to conies is shown by Drake's experience on an island near the Celebes where great land crabs "worke themselves earths, as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caues."<sup>43</sup> If crabs can be compared to conies, why not the ground squirrel?

The Guild's statement regarding the "bagge under the chin on each side" is not a key point. The ground squirrel of Marin, report zoologists, has "especially well developed cheek pouches" which often "seem to be bulging with the contents of these pouches."<sup>44</sup> "Bagge" and "pouch" are synonyms, and "under the chin" *vs.* bulging cheeks is hardly a "key" issue.

## Tenet 12

*What is the significance of Drake's contact with and observations of the people of Nova Albion, description of whom comprises a large portion of the narratives of Drake's visit?*

**Guild:** Certain geographical relationships are established by references to Indians in the accounts. At Drakes Bay many former Indian habitations dating back to the sixteenth century have been located.





NEASHAM: This 1599 engraving by Theodore de Bry depicts Drake's landing and greeting by Indians on the shore of Bolinas Lagoon. Miwok Indians lived near the water's edge. The drawing was published in *Americaë, Pars VIII* [Frankfurt]. Robert Power Collection.

Specific reference is made in *The World Encompassed* to one group of Indians who watched Drake set up camp and returned to their houses "neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant" (see p. 281), where they began a kind of weeping and crying out audible to the English at the camp. Today, on the west bank of Drakes Estero north of the cove, there is a corresponding sixteenth-century habitation, Mrn 235, about 1,300 yards from the Drake campsite. Audible range between habitation and camp site is facilitated by the latter being downwind.

Indians are always referred to as coming *down* to the camp from the nearby hill. At Drake's Cove the only convenient approach to the camp is from the hills around the cove.

Indians from inland had to come to the camp along the high ridge that borders the west side of Drakes Estero; it was along this that the Hióh, or chief, would have come on June 26.

Neasham: Among significant factors mentioned in the Drake accounts was that some of the Indians' houses were close to the water's edge. About three-quarters of a mile away from his camp was a village. Inland were the main villages, some distance away. Dr. Robert F. Heizer and other anthropologists have proven conclusively that the

Indians were Coast Miwok, who occupied the coastal area from the Marin County shore of San Francisco Bay to Bodega Bay. Friendly to Drake and his men, whom they thought to be gods, they crowned him *Hióh*.

The account's descriptions of Indians would apply to the Bolinas Lagoon area where Drake built his fort. Remains of several Indian middens are to be found there near the water's edge. About three-quarters of a mile away, on McCormick Creek, is a rather large site. Up in the land, in the Olema and Nicasio areas, were the main Indian villages.

**Power:** That Drake met and dealt with Indians in the summer of 1579 is the crux of why the location of Drake's landing is important. The contact with the Indians by Drake in Nova Albion resulted in the first incorporation of a non-European people as subjects of the English Crown. This was the effective founding of the overseas British Empire and the beginning of the Anglo-American experience.<sup>45</sup>

Francis Drake's success in Nova Albion, and especially with the Indians who surrendered their sovereignty and offered their power and faith to Britain, gave to that nation a sense of destiny that North America was a vast fifth region of the world where people were crying out to be subjects of the English Crown.

This grand dream for an overseas British Empire in North America which developed after Drake returned from Nova Albion in 1580 and before Sir Humphrey Gilbert departed for Newfoundland in 1583 was a reasonable concept if the setting for Drake's experience was within the great harbor of San Francisco Bay, but one of some foolishness if the setting was in an insignificant coastal inlet.

**Guild:** Mr. Power's political interpretation of Drake's contact with the Coast Miwok Indians has nothing to do with identification of the landing site.

Dr. Neasham does not identify the hill on which Indians showed themselves to the English above their fort. A group from the inland, coming from Olema Valley, or Nicasio, and appearing on a hill to the north would have been well over a quarter-mile from the fort and, on descending, could not have been in context with *The World Encompassed* statement: "And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort . . ." (see p. 283). The base of that hill is over 1,200 feet away.

We cannot disagree with Dr. Neasham's identification of a site three-quarters of a mile away from which Indians might be heard, but there are other sites on this creek much closer.

**Neasham:** Drakes Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and the Marin County shore of San Francisco Bay were inhabited by Coast Miwok Indians who had sites near the water's edge. In all three areas are middens about three-quarters of a mile away from suggested Drake fort sites. The main villages were farther inland, several miles away. The hills would have been used by the Indians to come to Drake's fort, not only as an approach but as protection to prevent being seen until they were ready to show themselves.

The fact that Drake must have been in San Francisco Bay to insure "a sense of destiny" in the founding of the British Empire and colonies in North America and that the concept "was a reasonable concept if the setting of Drake's experience was within the great harbor of San Francisco Bay, but one of foolishness if the setting was in an insignificant coastal inlet," is an invalid statement. On the contrary, Drake would have sought for his anchorage an obscure and hidden spot, the more insignificant the better. Nova Albion, which he claimed for Queen Elizabeth, included a vast territory, running as high as 48°, as many maps show. Its claiming was not dependent solely on Coast Miwok Indians or on the setting of the spot where he built his fort, careened the *Golden Hinde*, and nailed the Plate of Brass.

**Power:** The generalized conditions surrounding the Indians may be applied to all three sites with only one important distinction. The greatest number of Indians in Marin lived in the San Francisco Bay watershed area and not in the coastal area.<sup>46</sup> The visit by the “king” and a “100 tall and warlike men,” (see p. 282) plus many more men, women, and children suggests Drake was close to the greater centers of Coast Miwok population living within the San Francisco Bay watershed.

**Guild:** From June 17 to June 26, there was ample time for a delegation to reach Drakes Bay even from the San Francisco Bay watershed. The most significant contacts are those made in the area of Drake’s camp.

**Neasham:** The hill down which the Indians came was directly south of Drake’s fort, as indicated in Hondius’ Portus Plan.

**Power:** The political history that flowed from Drake’s experiences with the Coast Miwok Indians is what gives substance to this debate.

## Tenet 13

*Discuss the significance of archaeological evidence related to Drake’s landing.*

**Guild:** Since 1940, over 800 artifacts of sixteenth-century European origin have been found in Drakes Bay sites. Most are fragments of Chinese porcelains, and most are probably from Cermeño (see p. 287), but it is known that Drake had four chests of porcelains when he came to California, thus leaving a possibility that some fragments may be his. With goods and materials common to both and a short intervening time span, the bulk of artifacts cannot positively be attributed to either individual.

Thirteen habitation sites at Drakes Bay have been dated to the sixteenth century. Significantly, one of these, Mrn 235, corresponds to that described as being near three-quarters of a mile from Drake’s camp. Six unusual items of European origin were found there at the same level as the porcelain sherds: a small copper cone, a shred of dark red wool cloth, a peach pit, a clinker, fragments of tar, and an iron item resembling a compass needle with a pivot-like projection near the center. These are notably different from artifacts found on Limantour Spit where Cermeño camped.

After discovery of Drake’s Cove, the Guild undertook a search for traces of Drake’s fort, and exploratory digs continued there until 1961. Over ninety pits and trenches were dug. Before the work ended it became apparent that Drake’s fort had been on the beach outside the excavation area and long since destroyed by the sea and erosion of the shore. The net result of this work was definition of Drake’s Cove. Trenching revealed what was probably the inner bank of his careening basin. On this there is a layer of uniformly large stones, lying over sand and gravel, that may have washed in from remains of the fort. Further excavation is required.

**Neasham:** That the remains of Drake’s fort may have been found, archeologically, at Bolinas Lagoon, was reported to the Society of Historical Archaeologists by this writer and William E. Pritchard on January 10, 1974. My conclusions were that a reservoir used as a duck pond had been built on the fort site in 1872. As stated:

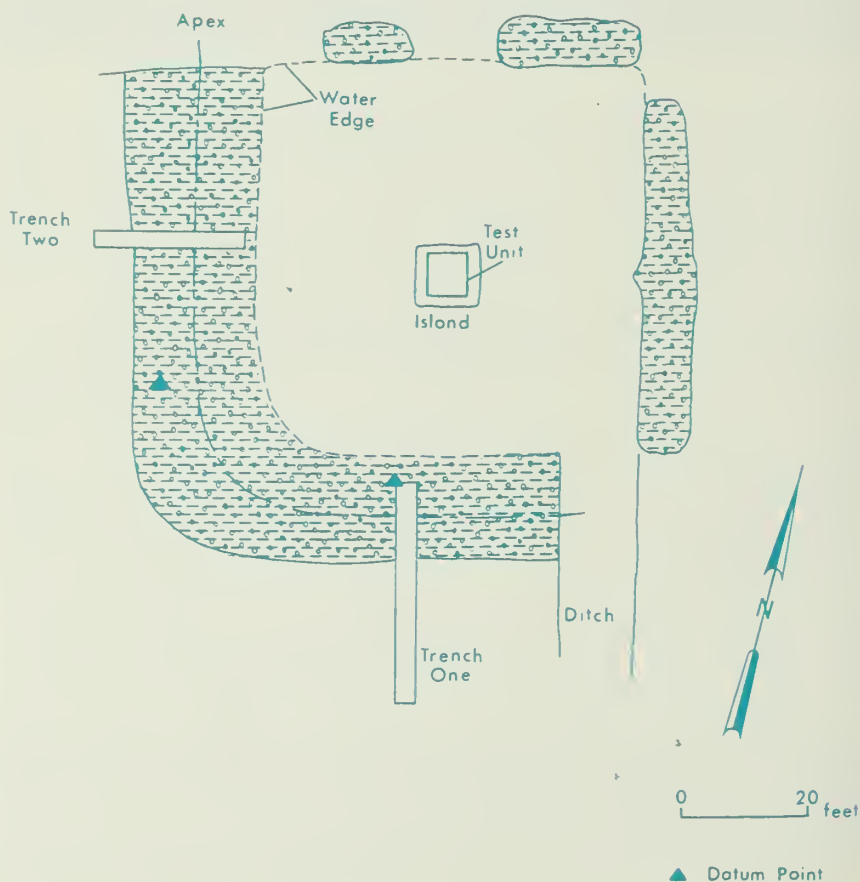
Two major trenches, three feet wide and twenty-five and thirty-five feet long, were dug, as were





NEASHAM: The photograph (left) of archaeological test trench No. 1 at Bolinas Lagoon in September, 1973, indicates the remains of the older wall beneath the wall of the 1872 duck pond.

NEASHAM: Included in this September, 1973, archaeological drawing (below) of the 1872 duck pond at Bolinas Lagoon are the locations of the archaeologists' test trenches. Photo and drawing by W. E. Pritchard.



several test pits . . . the digging confirmed the fact that this was indeed a reservoir . . . built in 1872. In scraping out the reservoir, the dirt used to form the west and south walls covered another walled structure. The remains of the east and north walls of this first structure are still in place and visible. The older structure measured approximately 80 by 80 feet. The later reservoir measured about 60 by 60 feet. The walls of the earlier structure, as shown by soil profiles, had sloughed down over a long period of time through erosion. Certainly this sloughing process could not have taken place in the thirty or so years since the first white men settled at Bolinas Lagoon in the 1840's. More likely it would have taken several hundred years. In other words, we had in all probability found Drake's fort, built in 1579. No known Spanish, Mexican, or Russian fort had ever been built in this area. Besides the walls of the fort, certain artifacts, including tar, slag and iron objects were found, which the Smithsonian Institution is in process of identifying.<sup>47</sup>

Pritchard, California Department of Parks and Recreation archeologist who is basing his findings on soil profiles, structural features, and an 8" x 8" post hole, wrote: "Although inconclusive, there is no evidence of previous Spanish or Russian occupation of the Bolinas Bay area, and therefore one must conclude that the lower structure dates from an earlier period than that of the late 1700's."<sup>48</sup>

**Power:** The only archaeological artifact ever discovered in California which has been identified as Elizabethan is the Drake Plate of Brass discovered in 1936 on a Greenbrae hill overlooking Point San Quentin and San Francisco Bay.<sup>49</sup> This established the Marin shore of San Francisco Bay as the only Drake archaeological discovery zone in California.

There was at Drakes Bay in 1595 the wreck of the goods-laden Manila galleon, the *San Agustín*. This wreck has resulted in a number of sixteenth-century artifacts being discovered in Indian village sites in the immediate Point Reyes area.<sup>50</sup>

The fact that these artifacts apparently were not dispursed beyond Point Reyes is evidence that the Indians did not trade or transport European artifacts circa 1595. This suggests that the Indians would not have transported the Plate of Brass or other Elizabethan artifacts any great distance from the place where they were left by the English, and therefore, that the Elizabethan archaeological zone is limited to the San Francisco Bay shore of Marin County.

**Guild:** No artifacts of sixteenth-century origin have been recorded from Indian sites on San Francisco Bay. Mr. Power assumes without proof that all such artifacts found at Drakes Bay are Cermeño's, but the lack of any on San Francisco Bay weighs heavily against his argument for Drake's presence there.

The Plate of Brass shows evidence of having lain a long time in an Indian midden; therefore, it was not found *in situ* on the Greenbrae hill, and it does not in any way limit the evidence to San Francisco Bay.

The Bolinas Lagoon fort has two major faults: first, the two trenches dug through the walls failed to disclose any sign of the trench that normally surrounded such a fort and which is mentioned in the accounts. Dr. Neasham states in Tenet No. 7 that earth was shoveled from the surface to make a wall. Second, the trenches revealed no sign of stone, of which the walls were said to have been made.

Dr. Neasham's and William E. Pritchard's assumption that the earlier walls of the fort could not have sloughed down in the short period of early white settlement is contradicted by the fact that the site is on a tide flat. In his report, Dr. Neasham states: "This site has been subjected to filling with water and silt from tidal action," and elsewhere in the report it is stated, "the north and east walls have been damaged by tidal action."<sup>51</sup>

Because of the fact of repeated inundation, we do not see how these earth walls could have withstood the ravages of time and tide as long as Dr. Neasham believes.

**Neasham:** The structure found archaeologically at Bolinas Lagoon in September, 1973, if confirmed, would indicate this to be the site of Drake's fort. Excavations in Indian middens nearby prove these to have been recent and occupied during the sixteenth century.

Archaeological materials, including Ming porcelain and iron spikes among Asiatic and European artifacts, in the minds of most archaeologists familiar with the subject point to the Cermeño experience at Drakes Bay in 1595. Some of the artifacts, however, could have been left by the Drake expedition, as Drake had similar materials in his possession. If so, they were brought by the Indians from Drake's camp at Bolinas Lagoon, less than fifteen miles away.

The stones revealed in excavations at the so-called Drake's Cove at Drakes Bay may have some affinity to a fort. If so, they also can be ascribed to Cermeño, who entrenched himself ashore near the estero entrance, where water was available. It is not likely that his camp was some distance to the east on exposed Limantour Spit.

So far as the finding of the Drake plate near San Francisco Bay is concerned, it was not found *in situ* in 1936, as archaeological excavations by Dr. Heizer and this writer demonstrated in 1947. In all probability, it had been carried from place to place, possibly to Drakes Bay from Bolinas Bay, and then to San Francisco Bay in the twentieth century.

**Power:** Eight hundred artifacts of sixteenth-century European origin have been found in Drakes Bay sites, but not a single one can be identified as English or associated with Drake.

Ninety pits and trenches were dug with negative results on the shore of Drakes Estero which forced the Guild to conclude that the sand and rock that had comprised the alleged "Drake's fort" had been washed away by the sea. This confirms that the Guild did not know the geographic conditions extant in the area of Drakes Estero in 1579 when they "identified" Drake's Cove in 1952-56.

Dr. Neasham does not provide documentary evidence that the 60' x 60' "duck pond" was in fact built in 1872. Perhaps it was the 80' x 80' structure that was the 1872 duck pond, and the 60' x 60' was a more recent modification of this pond. It is a likely speculation that both structures were ponds since the 1859 USCS map depicts the area as marsh. None of the "artifacts" discovered have been identified as sixteenth-century. Neasham presents not one shred of positive archaeological evidence to support an Elizabethan visitation to Bolinas Lagoon.

**Guild:** Making allowance for some erosion of the outer shore since Drake's visit and using known hydrographic patterns, the geographic conditions extant in the area of Drakes Estero in 1579 can be approximately charted.

We emphasize, as Dr. Neasham admits, that the structure at Bolinas is not confirmed to be Drake's fort. Most important, it lacks the necessary characteristics.

If some of Drake's porcelains had been traded from Bolinas Lagoon to Drakes Bay, it is surprising that none have been found in Bolinas sites.

References in the Cermeño accounts prove that he camped on Limantour Spit.<sup>52</sup>

**Neasham:** The more than 800 non-Indian sixteenth-century artifacts found at Drakes Bay are classified as both European and Oriental, mostly the latter in the form of Ming porcelain. As to the 60' x 60' duck pond superimposed on Drake's larger fort, the fact that the duck pond was built in 1872 has been documented by Thomas J. Barfield, Bolinas historian. Archeological evidence in 1973 confirmed that the larger and older structure was not used originally as a reservoir.

As to a deep trench or moat surrounding Drake's fort, this was impossible at Bolinas Lagoon, because of the high water table. Drake's construction was done in accordance



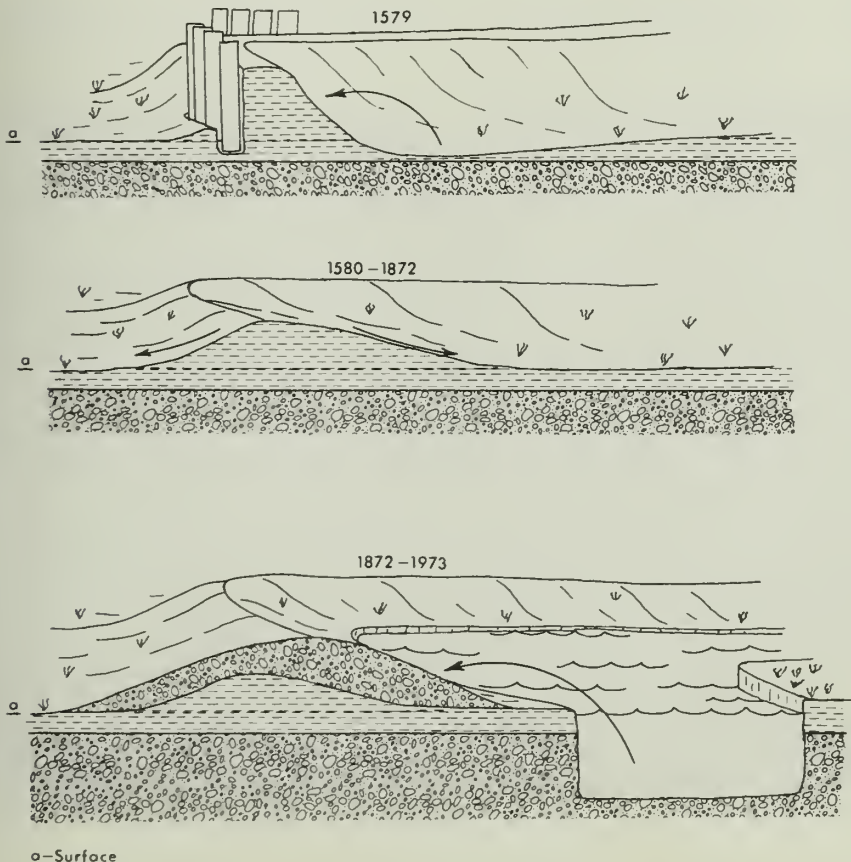
with local conditions. The walls were earth thrown up and faced with stone or wood. The 8-inch square post mold found in the 1973 excavations may indicate the latter.

The fort walls, above tidal action in Drake's time, would have taken a long time to slough down. The placement of the fill and dikes in the 1870's kept the tides away from the site. Ultimately, however, the dikes were weakened to the northeast and at the point where the ditch from the duck pond, running south and then east, entered the lagoon. High tides funnel through these weakened points with extra force, thus causing the man-made pasture, duck pond, and original surface at times to be flooded.

The land on which Drake built his fort also may have subsided, thus allowing the tides to invade what in 1579 was dry land. The U.S. Geological Survey states that in the 1906 earthquake, displacement occurred as much as 1 foot vertically and 13.5 feet horizontally at Bolinas Lagoon.<sup>53</sup>

**Power:** The Plate of Brass *was* found *in situ* by Beryle Shinn who reported he "pulled the plate free from the ground."<sup>54</sup> The carbon deposit does not establish that it was in an Indian midden; it is merely one of several speculative explanations possible. The San Francisco Bay-Portus Plan comparison suggests the Plate of Brass was found in the vicinity of the site where Drake erected it.

**NEASHAM:** *The comparative drawing of the Bolinas Lagoon site (below) suggests the profiles and reconstructs Drake's fort in 1579, its subsequent deterioration, and the construction of the 1872 duck pond. Drawing by W. E. Pritchard.*



## Tenet 14

*Before Drake left the bay in which he had anchored, according to The World Encompassed, he "caused to be set up a monument of our being there, . . . namely a plate of brasse" (see p. 285). This plate was discovered in 1936 by Beryle Shinn on a hill overlooking San Francisco Bay. After the discovery was announced, William Caldeira claimed to have previously discovered this same plate near Drakes Bay in 1933 and to have discarded it near the Greenbrae hillside where Shinn found it. What is the significance of the plate to the landing site controversy?*

**Guild:** The Plate of Brass is not significant to identification of Drake's landing place. It is a portable artifact not found *in situ*, and there is even doubt in the minds of some that it is authentic, although the investigations by Drs. Fink and Polushkin make this possibility remote.

Aside from other considerations, carbonaceous particles mixed with corrosion products and soil elements in the patina of the plate rule out any possibility that it was found where originally posted, as this intrusion necessarily comes from long burial in an Indian midden. Regardless of where found, the plate was posted nearby Drake's camp and subsequently removed by the Indians.

**Neasham:** In all probability, since 1579 the Drake plate had been carried from place to place by the Miwok. The evidence of carbon on its surface when it was tested may indicate it had lain in an Indian midden for a long period of time. In any event, its original placement was at or near Drake's fort. If the fort was at Bolinas Lagoon, then, necessarily, the plate was erected in that vicinity.

The hole in the lower right-hand corner of the plate, which held the sixpence on which was Queen Elizabeth's likeness, may in reality have been a symbolic map representing Drake's landing. It, having a similarity in shape to the pen-and-ink representation of the same spot by Dudley in his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, led this writer to the ultimate finding of the suggested Drake fort at Bolinas Lagoon in 1973.

**Power:** The Plate of Brass was first knowingly discovered on a hill overlooking the shore of Point San Quentin and San Francisco Bay. There is no valid evidence that anyone but the Indians had seen this relic since the departure of Drake. The discoverer who turned it over to Professor Herbert Bolton in 1936 was Beryle Shinn of Oakland. His veracity has never been in question. A claim of previous discovery was made in 1937 by William Caldeira who by his own volunteered testimony established that he was an untruthful fabricator of evidence when he falsely claimed he could remember the letters "DRAK"<sup>55</sup> at the bottom of the plate.

The discovery site, as unlikely as it seemed in 1936, was precisely in the general area of the encampment site depicted on the *Portus Novae Albionis* when this plan is compared with San Francisco Bay. The Montanus illustration likewise favorably compares with the general area where the Plate of Brass was discovered. This independent interlocking of evidence, one archeological and the other cartographic-pictorial, intensifies the value of each in determining that Francis Drake landed on the shores of San Francisco Bay.

**Guild:** Mr. Power's contention that William Caldeira was lying when he claimed original discovery of the plate at Drakes Bay is irresponsible. Why not remember the letters

DRAK? If he saw them, as he said he did, then he could remember them. Leon Bocqueraz, a director of the Bank of America and Caldeira's employer at the time, expressed a high regard for his integrity in a recorded interview, saying that he would take his word absolutely.<sup>56</sup> Allen L. Chickering, who interviewed Caldeira at the time, also accepted his word.

As for disbelieving Caldeira, one can equally doubt Beryle Shinn's story of finding the plate, as there is no evidence that he found it on the Greenbrae hillside, only *his* word. The Guild accepts the word of both Mr. Caldeira and Mr. Shinn.

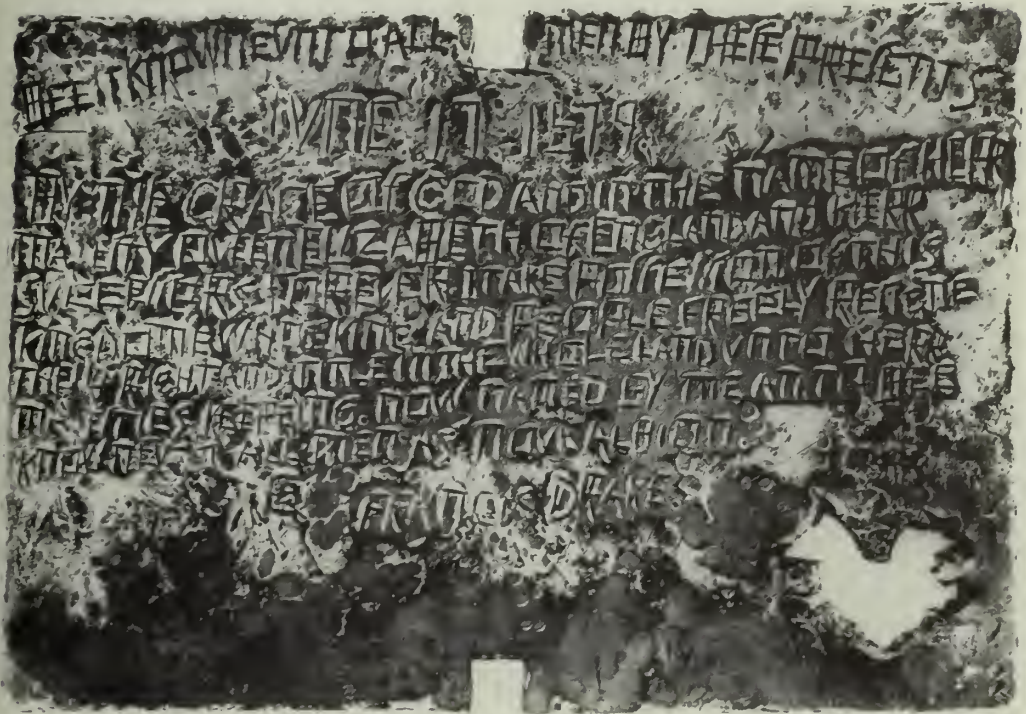
As for Dr. Neasham's argument, we fail to see that the hole in the plate is anything but a provision for retaining the sixpence.

**Neasham:** The Plate of Brass attests to the landing of Drake in what is now Marin County. This writer believes the story of William Caldeira that he found it in 1933 at a crossroad on the Laguna Ranch near Drakes Bay, and that he later threw it from his car near Greenbrae. Subsequently, it was picked up in 1936, not far away.

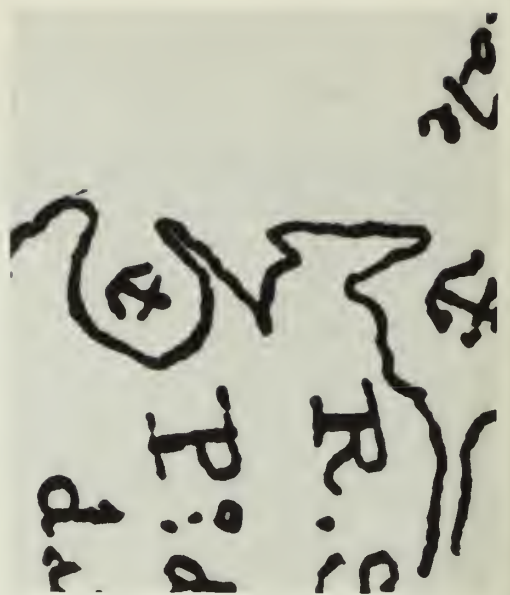
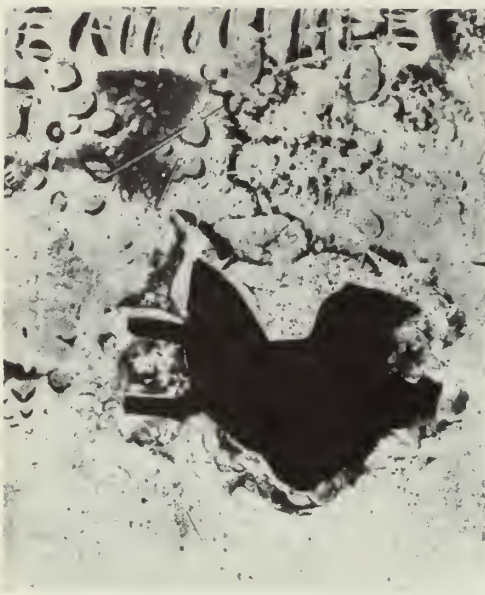
The carbon on the surface of the Drake Plate may indicate it had lain for a long period of time in an Indian site. Carbonaceous materials from food, discarded plant materials, and fire are components of Indian middens. The Miwok may have transported the plate from place to place, until it became buried in some Indian mound. Road or other construction could have exposed it; and someone earlier than Caldeira may have found

**NEASHAM:** *On his departure Drake nailed this Plate of Brass on a great post, claiming the land, Nova Albion, for Queen Elizabeth.*

**POWER:** *The only identified archaeological artifact from Drake's voyage is the Plate of Brass. A previous discovery claim has been discredited. Drake back-dated the plate to commemorate his discovery of the Golden Gate. California Historical Society.*







**NEASHAM:** *The upper part of the hole in the Drake plate is similar in shape to Drake's anchorage as on the seventeenth-century Dudley map, Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale. Copy by George Davidson, California State Library, Sacramento.*

it at either Drakes Bay or Bolinas Bay, only to divest himself of it at the Laguna Ranch. Linking the finding of the Drake plate near San Francisco Bay in 1936 and the Montanus drawing does not "hold water," if the drawing represents a fanciful scene, which, conceivably, could be attributed to many other spots, including Drakes Bay and Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** There is an old adage in archeology that the further one speculates an artifact traveled, the less chance he has of being correct. Most artifacts fall to the earth near where they were used by man.

It seems to be agreed in all opening statements that Indians transported the Plate of Brass from where it was erected to its Greenbrae discovery site where Beryle Shinn pulled it free from the soil in 1936.

It is a remote chance indeed that Indians carried this relic from a coastal anchorage and discarded it on a hill overlooking Point San Quentin which is the location of Drake's fort in the San Francisco Bay-*Portus Novæ Albionis* comparison.

The shape of the hole in the Plate of Brass which Dr. Neasham imagines to be a symbolic map led him to Bolinas Lagoon! I suggest Dr. Neasham begin his treasure hunt again by re-reading *The World Encompassed* which plainly says "a piece of sixpence . . . shewing itself by a hole made of purpose through the plate" (see p. 285).

**Guild:** The Guild's position is that the plate was moved from the post to an Indian midden, by someone else to Caldeira's find site, by Caldeira to Greenbrae, then by someone else to the Shinn-find site not far away.

As for the length of time this plate lay in the Shinn site, note the circumstance of Shinn's discovery as he picked up rocks to roll downhill: "... I noticed the plate lying on the ground. It was partly covered by a rock." He affirmed that the plate could be seen before he picked up the rock.<sup>57</sup>

Because the find site had a heavy grass cover, the plate could not have lain there long before becoming covered by decayed vegetation, roots, and dust. Its patina was uniform, indicating complete burial for a long time, not partial exposure.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

**Neasham:** Drake's Plate of Brass was carried to its final site near Greenbrae by someone unknown, after it had been discarded by Caldeira.

Symbolism in sixteenth-century England occupied many minds. As to the hole in the plate, it may be a symbolic map. If not symbolic, why the strange configuration of the hole, if made only to hold the sixpence? The precise shape of the prong at the left side should have been repeated at the right and at the top and bottom. But it was not. In any event, the plate led to Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, which in turn led to Bolinas Lagoon, which in turn led to Drake's fort. If confirmed, the fort is the most significant artifact of Drake's landing to be found, even more important historically than the Plate of Brass.

**Power:** Irresponsible! The irresponsibility in this Tenet lays with the Guild and Dr. Neasham in believing Caldeira's 1937 statements<sup>58</sup> and that Bocqueraz, in a 1955 interview on file at the Bancroft Library, added credence to Caldeira's claims.

The \$3,500 "reward" Shinn had received had been widely publicized when the Plate's discovery was officially announced. Bocqueraz alleged in his 1955 interview that Caldeira "thought he should get some reward."<sup>59</sup>

"Somewhat a little ignorant" was an opinion Bocqueraz ventured about Caldeira in his 1955 interview, yet the Guild and Dr. Neasham "believe" he was capable of remembering for three years the letters "DRAK" in a "foreign writing of some kind."<sup>60</sup> Caldeira did not know when he falsified his recall that *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, published the following year, would report, "After the letters had been engraved . . . [there were] distortions of the letter grooves such as in the case of the . . . letter 'K' [in DRAKE],"<sup>61</sup> but the Guild and Dr. Neasham should know a distorted "K" is not a letter subject to recall.

In addition there are gross inconsistencies between Caldeira's 1937 statement and Bocqueraz's 1955 interview. Caldeira said in 1937, "I . . . sailed it [i.e. the Plate] . . . into clear space. . . I was . . . alone,"<sup>62</sup> but in 1955 Bocqueraz said of the same event that Caldeira "took and threw it away" and "I saw him throw it."<sup>63</sup> Either Caldeira or Bocqueraz made an untruthful statement.

Beryle Shinn is believed because he presented the Plate of Brass to Professor Eugene Bolton.<sup>64</sup> Possession proved beyond all doubt Shinn had discovered Drake's Plate.

## Tenet 15

*Drake departed from Nova Albion on July 23, 1579, and The World Encompassed reported that "not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands . . . one of which wee fell July 24" (see p. 286). What is the significance of the dates and apparent time lapsed on this leg of his journey?*

**Guild:** No special significance for identifying Drake's landing site can be attached to the apparent length of time between Drake's departure from the landing site, given as August 23, and his "fell" at the Farallon Islands on August 24.

It is the Guild's belief that these dates resulted from the usual seamen's practice in that era to change the log date at noon instead of at midnight, because navigation was reckoned from noon to noon. Tide tables prepared for the Guild show that Drake could have left Drakes Estero the morning of August 23, commenced his sea day at

noon with the new date of August 24, and reached the Farallon Islands before dark.

However, it is not improbable either that Drake may have hove-to overnight because of fog or light wind and so not fell with the islands until the following day.

**Neasham:** Drake could have left Bolinas Bay on July 23, either in the morning or late in the day, according to the dictates of the tide. Even sailing somewhat against northwest winds, the trip to the islands was only about twenty miles and should have been made in less than a day without difficulty. In all probability, however, as any competent navigator would do after a thorough overhaul and repair of his ship, Drake would have given it a major shakedown before continuing his long voyage. This would have taken a considerable amount of time, thus perhaps accounting for his arrival at the Farallones a day after his departure.

**Power:** The description of the departure from the "harborough" of Nova Albion on July 23 and the arrival at one of the Farallon Islands on July 24 correlates with sailing from Point San Quentin to the Farallones.

*The World Encompassed* says, "The 23. of Iuly they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires . . . burning . . . sacrifices at our departure" (see p. 286). The *Portus Novæ Albionis* depicts these Indians on the crest of the Portus peninsula burning these sacrifices. The next paragraph in *The World Encompassed* continues, "Not farre without this harborough did lye certain Islands . . . one of which wee fell Iuly 24."

These requirements are all met by departing from Point San Quentin in the morning, reaching the Golden Gate in time for the afternoon ebb current, and riding this tidal flow through the Golden Gate. Simultaneously, the *Golden Hinde* would have disappeared from the sight of the Indians burning sacrifices on the Tiburon Peninsula. It was too late to approach the Farallones until the following day.

**Guild:** To answer Mr. Power's argument, we refer to our basic statement. The historic facts of departure and arrival date at the islands do not give evidence of any specific landing site.

**Neasham:** Drake's departure on July 23, and his arrival at the Farallones on July 24, can be variously explained—time of departure, whether or not the date change was made at noon or midnight, hoving-to for the night, or giving the *Golden Hinde* a major shakedown. The trip could have been made without difficulty from Drakes Bay or Bolinas Bay with the help of northwest winds. It would have been much more difficult from San Francisco Bay. Davidson, an expert geographer and navigator, observed that Drake could not have made the trip from San Francisco Bay to the Farallones without making several tacks, because of adverse winds and swift tides.<sup>65</sup> That these conditions prevail was demonstrated by the Spaniard, Ayala, who almost wrecked his ship, the *San Carlos*, while going through the Golden Gate on his departure from San Francisco Bay in 1775.

**Power:** *The World Encompassed* is a journal, not a log, and journals at sea were always kept on a midnight to midnight basis according to Lt. Commander D. W. Waters,<sup>66</sup> the world's greatest authority on Tudor navigation, who has reviewed this specific matter.

There could have been a fog bank which impeded the expedition, but this is not implied, as the cold "returned" after departing from the Islands of Saint James on July 25.

As for Dr. Neasham's statement, the *Golden Hinde* sailed out of sight of the Indians upon departure, so it doesn't follow that there was a "shakedown" upon departure.



**Guild:** In response to Mr. Powers, we hold to our position as stated in the statement and first response.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

**Neasham:** The *Golden Hinde* departed from Bolinas Bay on July 23, 1579, and arrived at the Isles of St. James (the Farallones) on July 24.

**Power:** Dr. Neasham at least understands the issue when he states, "The trip could have been made without difficulty [to the Farallones] from Drakes Bay or Bolinas Bay with the help of northwest winds. It would have been much more difficult from San Francisco Bay." Difficulty translated into sailing time.

## Tenet 16

*The Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticæ map of the world by cartographer Jodocus Hondius (London, 1589), contains in its upper left-hand corner a plan of the Portus Novæ Albionis. Discuss the significance of the Portus Plan and its correlation with the proposed landing site.*

**Guild:** This small view, or local map, provides the key clues that pinpoint Drake's encampment. Even if viewed as only a rough field sketch, it carries vital information. Drake's ship is shown anchored in a small bay, or cove, near his fort. To the right of the fort, symbols indicate hills continuing to bluffs at bottom center; to its left, dots and short, horizontal dashes indicate beach, a conclusion supported by the point's characteristic sandspit shape. The adjacent island has no texture, as though flat and featureless, and is apparently a sandbar.

Interpreted in this general way, the inset correlates to a cove inside a sandspit on the west side of the mouth of Drakes Estero. Hills and bluffs there correspond to the inset.

But details on the inset are engraved with care, and the Portus Plan has point-for-point correspondence with the cove, a fair degree of scale relationship, and too many points of agreement for coincidence. Comparative features are the cove's seal-head shape and matching indentations in the crest of the bluff overlooking the cove, including even a small point at the outer end. These are hard geographical features.

Hondius' spit matches spits that form at Drake's Cove in shape, location, and angular relationship. The island relates to sand bars that form adjacent to the spit.

**GUILD:** The Portus Novæ Albionis insert from the Hondius Broadside map shows Drake's fort and careenage. The point has the characteristic shape of a sand spit. Note that different topographic symbols are used for the surrounding hills on the right and for the terrain of the point. British Museum, London.





Scale locates the fort on the beach in logical orientation with the hill at the head of the spit and places the ship where a natural deep-water basin occurs. A figure stands between ship and fort where archaeology indicates a shoal once existed. The figure was probably burning a sacrifice on a stranded log, just as the figure on the spit burns one on a driftwood stump.

**Neasham:** This is considered to be one of the basic clues to Drake's landing site in California. This writer interprets it to be Bolinas Lagoon, for the following reasons: The bay corresponds in shape and size to Drake's anchorage in the inner harbor of Bolinas Bay, as shown on Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*; the nearby island corresponds to Duxbury Reef, which is above water at low tide and, as a hazard to navigation, would have been noted by Drake, a competent navigator; the *Golden Hinde* is located near the west shore at its careenage close to the fort; the fort is at the relative location of the structure found by this writer in 1973 on the shore of Bolinas Lagoon; the fort has the relative size and shape of the structure found in 1973; Indians, or possibly Drake and his men, are depicted on the inset going north up into the country towards Olema; and the hills and gullies to the east are almost exact duplications of those found today at Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** The *Portus Novæ Albionis* is definitive evidence that Francis Drake discovered San Francisco Bay. It is a plan of the northern portion of this bay and of no other part of the earth.

The *Portus* island compares so favorably to the distinctive form of Belvedere Island that this single comparison identifies San Francisco Bay as the anchorage of the *Golden Hinde*. In addition, the *Portus* peninsula has the general form of Tiburon Peninsula, and the shape of the actual bay in the *Portus Novæ Albionis* is nearly identical with the shape of northern San Francisco Bay. The latter includes an opening into San Pablo Bay which is depicted as a shoreline on the Elizabethan plan. This may have been intended as an horizon if the vantage point was in the vicinity of Angel Island. In views of this kind, the land to the rear of the cartographer, such as Angel Island, is never depicted, as per the other Hondius inset of *Portus Java* which does not depict the opposite shore of an estuary. (See map reproduced in *California Historical Quarterly*, Summer, 1973, pp. 12-13.)

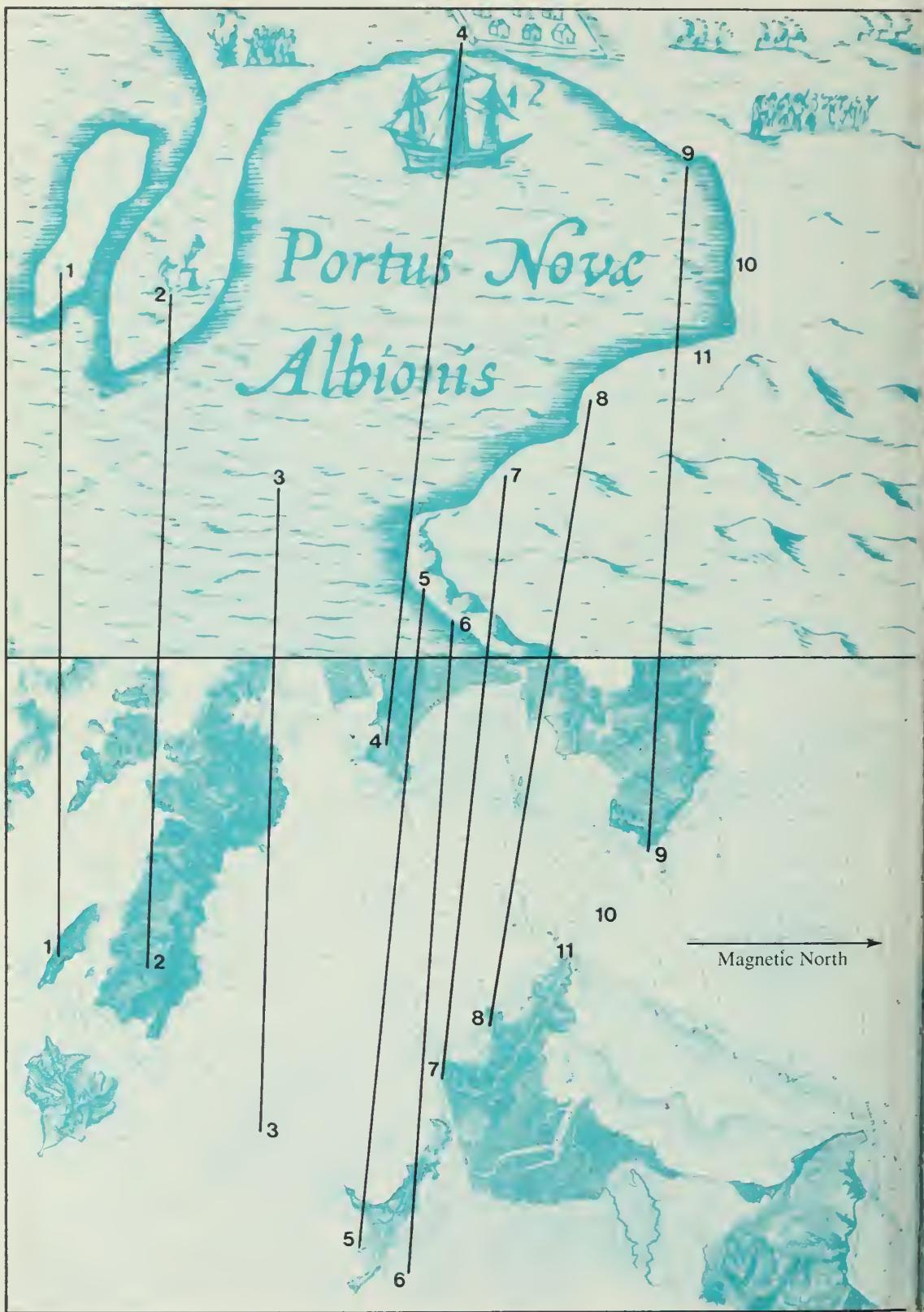
**Guild:** Belvedere Island does not compare as Mr. Power claims. Note that the upper end of Hondius' island is broad and straight across, and the lower end also broad, like an arrowhead. Belvedere rises steeply on all sides to nearly 400 feet, but Hondius shows no topographic definition, despite lavish use of it elsewhere.

Tiburon Peninsula should be better defined than any other part of the inset, inasmuch as Mr. Power assumes a vantage point off its tip, yet Hondius shows a smooth form coming to a sharp point, whereas the peninsula has a broad, indented tip one mile across. Hondius shows symbols for hills elsewhere, but shows a flat texture here, contrary to the steep hills rising to as much as 780 feet on this peninsula.

The inset is far from identical with northern San Francisco Bay in other respects. Point San Quentin is missing, as are several islands, notably Angel Island, which is very close to Tiburon Peninsula and cannot be easily explained away. No artist or draftsman would have been so unconventional as to show a horizon at San Pablo Strait as a vertical line. The strait into San Pablo Bay is evident from Angel Island and would have been explored in short order by Drake's bark. Note also that the south end of the Contra Costa shore has no similarity to the bluffs at the bottom of the inset.

The caption of the inset describes it as Drake's departure, and by then all features of this part of the bay would have been well known.





Portus Nova  
Albionis

Magnetic North

As for Bolinas Lagoon, it does not compare with the inset. While Hondius shows an open bay, or cove, there is no proof that Bolinas Lagoon was open to Bolinas Bay in 1579, and much to indicate that it was not. Duxbury Reef was noted by Vancouver in 1792 when he passed Bolinas Bay one league offshore from Point Reyes to San Francisco, but he did not notice the lagoon, and his descriptions and charts indicate that the barrier beach existed then to screen it from view.<sup>67</sup> Secondly, Bolinas Lagoon does not compare in shape or topographic features to the inset. Thirdly, Duxbury Reef does not compare to the island, but instead projects southeasterly as an extension of Duxbury Point; nor does Duxbury Point compare with Hondius' point. Finally, the Bolinas fort is surrounded by hills on three sides, whereas Hondius shows hills only to the right of the fort.

In respect to the Dudley charts (see pp. 264-5), there can be no comparison of the inset with an inner harbor on the charts because only a narrow river, or estuary is shown.

**Neasham:** *Portus Novæ Albionis* is a composite of several scenes during Drake's stay from June 17 to July 23. The cove at the west side of the estero entrance of Drakes Bay cannot be correlated with it for the following reasons: 1. the cove is too small, in relation to Hondius' Portus and Dudley's charts; 2. it does not have the proper orientation, being off 45° if going up into the land meant north, and Drake's men and possibly Indians are depicted going north in the Portus, only as they could do by going up the Olema Valley, which is not possible from the so-called Drake's Cove; 3. no bar is indicated in the Portus or in the Drake narratives, nor would Drake have risked taking the *Golden Hinde* over the bar at the estero entrance; 4. the point adjacent to and left of the fort is not a sandspit, but is mountainous or hilly, as the Portus indicates in depicting and telling of Indian sacrifices atop it at Drake's departure; 5. the hill to the west, adjacent to the supposed cove site, not only is improperly oriented in relation to the Portus plan, but is too steep for the Indians to have come down directly to the fort without skirting its base for a considerable distance; 6. the suggested fort site at the estero is too close to the base of the hill and vulnerable to attack from above; 7. the suggested fort and careenage sites at the estero are not in a protected spot, as Hondius shows, but are subject to the full force of north and northwest winds; 8. the gullies shown opposite Drake's fort in the Portus are not representative of those of the so-called Drake's Cove; and 9. the island of the Portus is not a sand bar, but represents a reef, exposed at low tide.

**POWER:** *A comparison of San Francisco Bay (1856 U.S.G.S. map) to the Portus Plan establishes that Drake must have entered the Golden Gate. In fingerprint identification procedures, ten points of comparison are considered proof beyond doubt. A similar standard in historic cartography is fair.* Robert H. Power Collection.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Portus Island  | 1. Belvedere Island                                       |
| 2. High point of Portus Peninsula                               | 2. Ridge line of Tiburon Peninsula                        |
| 3. Center point in Portus between Peninsula and bluffs opposite | 3. Center point in Bay between Tiburon and Point Richmond |
| 4. Drake careenage site   | 4. Careenage site used for whaling vessels in early days  |
| 5. Point and bluffs   | 5. Bluffs of Point Richmond                               |
| 6. Return of shore  | 6. Return of Richmond shore toward Albany                 |
| 7. Point  | 7. Molate Point   |
| 8. Point  | 8. Castro Point   |
| 9. Point  | 9. Point San Pedro  |
| 10. Presumed horizontal line                                    | 10. Strait of San Pablo                                   |
| 11. Point   | 11. Point San Pablo                                       |

*Portus Novæ Albionis* does not correlate with Point San Quentin for the following reasons: 1. San Francisco Bay is too large, in relation to the Portus and Dudley's charts; 2. the Portus indicates something relatively simple, not the complex Bay of San Francisco with its many possible carenage sites, including Sausalito, Richardson Bay, and Hospital Cove at Angel Island, any one of which could have been utilized by Drake before reaching Point San Quentin; 3. the proposed carenage site at Point San Quentin not only is out of proportion to the Portus plan, being too small, but is not oriented correctly with key details of the plan; 4. the carenage site at San Quentin is too far from the suggested fort site; 5. too many major features of San Francisco Bay are not shown in the Portus, including Angel Island, Red Rock, and San Pablo Bay; and 6. the gullies on the Portus Plan do not correspond with the gullies existing near Point San Quentin.

**Power:** The Guild has correctly assessed that any Drake anchorage theory must be reconciled to the *Portus Novæ Albionis* to be a viable proposal. Therefore, the Guild tries to make the Portus Plan fit their area by creating a non-existent anchorage out of a changeable sand shoreline at the entrance to Drakes Estero and inventing the place name "Drake's Cove." It is a geographical myth and a geological improbability. The Guild begins on an erroneous note by alleging that Drake's ship is shown anchored in "a small bay, or cove." The scale of the geographic features on the Portus Plan is not known, therefore, the Guild does not know *per se* if it is a small cove or a great bay like San Francisco.

The Guild alleges that the absence of texture on the Portus island indicates a "sand bar," that the "dots and dashes" on the Portus peninsula indicate a "beach," and its form indicates it is a "sandspit." However, these findings are not supported by the cartographic symbols and depictions on the plan.

The parallel dashes which indicate a *terra firma* shoreline are used on the Portus island, Portus peninsula, and on the shore to the left of the fort which establishes that the cartographer believed all of these features had firm "seashores."<sup>68</sup> The absence of markings on the Portus island does not make it a "sand bar"; it is just an island without designated relief.

On what the Guild finds is "a small point of land" to the left of the fort, the Portus Plan has about a dozen hill symbols. In this case, they ignore the texture indicated on the plan.

However, the greatest delusion of all is in the Guild's interpretation of the Portus peninsula as a "beach . . . [with a] characteristic sandspit shape" where Indians are depicted "burning a sacrifice on a stranded log" and another Indian "burns one [a sacrifice] on a driftwood stump." Jodocus Hondius, the cartographer who engraved the *Portus Novæ Albionis* along with its descriptive legend below, was unaware that the texture he applied to the Portus peninsula indicated it was a "beach," nor was Hondius aware that the shape he had drawn was a "sandspit." This is evidenced by the legend under the plan that reads, "The natives . . . around the harbor of Nova Albion mourned the departure of Drake . . . and offered many sacrifices on the hill-tops."<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it is an undisputable fact that Hondius believed the Portus peninsula was not a sandspit but was hilly and properly located so that Drake could see them "burning . . . sacrifices" as he sailed out of the harbor. Why the Guild makes the

POWER: *Drake's Cove* is a geographic myth and a geological improbability that cannot be "reconstructed" because it has never been known to exist. The two real shapes the sandspits have taken in the last century are depicted (opposite) on the 1862 Coast Survey and modern-times U.S.G.S. charts.



# Entrance to Drake's Estero, Drake's Bay



1953-1971 U.S. Geological Survey

1862 U.S. Coast Survey

0 1/2 1 MILE



sacrifices “stranded logs” and “driftwood” when *The World Encompassed* confirms that the burning of sacrifices at Drake’s departure were on “hills” (see p. 286) is not understandable.

There is no cove extant today, and the Guild cannot establish that there was an anchorage cove extant at Drakes Estero in 1579 nor can they determine the configuration of the sandspit in that year.

As for Bolinas Lagoon, it does not compare with the *Portus Nova Albionis* in any way whatsoever. Because there is no comparative orientation comment on the orientation of the fort on the Portus Plan with the levies Dr. Neasham excavated in the Bolinas marsh, it is, therefore, not possible.

**Guild:** Hondius was too experienced a cartographer to use dots and dashes for hills instead of the standard mole-hill symbol used elsewhere, and we are forced to conclude that those represent something other than hills.

Hondius probably heard or read that the Indians ran to the hilltops when Drake sailed, so he added that to his caption. But the tents still stood and the *Golden Hinde* was not yet underway, so the scene from which he drew *precedes* the sacrifices on the hills.

Near departure, *The World Encompassed* describes a sacrifice made at Drake’s camp which is probably that shown left of the fort.

To answer Dr. Neasham: 1. The Guild’s scale chart shows that the cove is adequate. 2. At departure, Indians ran to hilltops, *not* inland. 3. The bar is outside the inset. 4. No mole-hill symbols are shown left of the fort. 5. At the cove, the only easy descent to the fort site is precisely where the group is shown at the right of the inset. *The World Encompassed* indicates that it was necessary to break ranks and reassemble at the fort (see p. 283). 6. Answered in Tenet 7. 7. In late June and July the wind is negligible. Protection from the sea is what counted. 8. We see no “gullies” in the inset, only indentations. 9. For a view of the “Portus” island, turn to the 1952 air photo of Drakes Estero reproduced on page 215.

**Neasham:** Bolinas Bay does compare with the *Portus Nova Albionis*, as demonstrated in the similarity of the 1579 physical features of Bolinas Lagoon and the Portus Plan. Dudley’s Drake anchorage in the *Carta Prima Generale* also is comparable to the Portus Plan in size and shape. The plan does not show hills to the south, west, and north of the fort—only south and north, and east across the lagoon. The hills to the west, although there, are not shown, as Hondius chose to complete his drawing near the west wall of the fort.

As to Bolinas Lagoon being open to Bolinas Bay in 1579, members of the Portolá expedition in 1769 noted the open bight there. Father Palou, with Portolá, commented on its possible use as a haven for ships.<sup>70</sup> A sandy beach is mentioned also. Large islands are not indicated. Kent Island, the largest island in Bolinas Lagoon, did not fully develop until after 1900. The narrow stream in Dudley’s Manuscript Chart No. 85 is in the relative location of McCormack (Pine) Creek at the northwest side of Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** Ten points of comparison between fingerprints in criminological investigations are enough evidence to put an individual on death row,<sup>71</sup> and a similar standard establishes the *Portus Nova Albionis* as a plan of northern San Francisco Bay.

POWER: Montanus’ 1671 view of Drake’s Nova Albion anchorage (opposite) matches the San Francisco Bay landscape near the site where Beryle Shinn “pulled free from the ground” the Plate of Brass. It matches no other Marin vista. Robert H. Power Collection.

Tenet  
17

What is the significance of Arnold Montanus' illustration, "The Crowning of Drake," which was published in *De Nieuwe en Onbekonde Weereld: of Beschryving van Americo en 1 + Zuid-Land . . .* (Amsterdam, 1671)?

**Guild:** This engraving is not used as evidence by the Guild because of the late date of publication and evident errors, for example, Cavalier dress, Indian with spears although they had none, tents at random instead of in a fort, the *Golden Hinde* shown as a ship of the seventeenth century resting a great distance from the camp. Montanus clearly improvised. What is fact and what is not?





The engraving, however, has comparisons with the Hondius inset and Drake's Cove, and it is possible that Montanus inherited an outline sketch based on a few facts, perhaps from Hondius or de Bry, which he completed in ignorance. For example, the banner at center may have been sketched only as a mast and yard to represent Drake's ship to be developed later. The steep-sided formation in the background of the drawing relates to the bluff that overlooks Drake's Cove; Indians coming from inland would have appeared in a similar situation on the hill. The missing fort may have been located where the bank and gully are sketched at left foreground; Indians may have come submissively to Drake in the trench outside the fort.

**Neasham:** The 1671 drawing by Arnold Montanus is a fanciful view. Drake is shown in what appears to be cavalier clothing, and his men, far in excess of the number he had with him, are also dressed in the manner of the seventeenth century. The Indians are not reminiscent of the Coast Miwok in appearance, dress, or habitations. The coat-of-arms of the City of Plymouth, of which Drake became mayor after his return to England, appears on a banner hanging from a flagstaff.

The scene showing the *Golden Hinde* at anchor conceivably could be related to many spots in California, including Bolinas Lagoon. To designate it as a particular spot, however, may be begging the case and more than the artist intended. More likely, the representations of the California Indians, their habitations, and their visitation by Drake, as shown in 1599 by the engraver, Theodore de Bry, are more representative of Drake's California encampment at Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** The Montanus illustration has a remarkable resemblance to a view from Point San Quentin looking across an arm of San Francisco Bay at Tiburon and Angel Island. The illustration is misleading because Drake and his associates are dressed in seventeenth-century cavalier costumes. However, there are several cogent points that should be noted.

Arnold Montanus was the grandson of Petrus Montanus, partner and brother-in-law of Jodocus Hondius, publisher of the *Portus Nova Albionis*.<sup>72</sup> The arms he depicted on the banner are the arms of Queen Elizabeth and the City of Plymouth, the latter ones being relatively unknown and suggesting some inspiration from an original source (arms identified by A. A. Cummings, curator of Buckland Abbey in Plymouth, England). The Plate of Brass was discovered a quarter of a mile from where the comparative photograph of San Francisco Bay was taken. The Montanus illustration has never been shown to match any other part of Marin County.

**Guild:** Resemblance to the view of the shore on the horizon in this print can be found in numerous instances. This kind of detail can be roughed-in so casually by an artist composing an illustration, even as embellishment, that its value as an identifying feature alone is questionable.

The use of a photograph taken three-quarters of a mile from where Mr. Power claims that Drake careened and camped is not a valid comparison.

We agree with Dr. Neasham to a point that the print is a fanciful view, but whether entirely so depends upon positive identification of a site by other means.

**Neasham:** The structures shown in the Montanus drawing may depict Drake's fort or, possibly, Indian habitations.

**Power:** Both the Guild and Dr. Neasham reject the Montanus illustration as evidence by reviewing the "evident errors" in the illustration. However, they both hedge their opinions. The Guild states it "has comparisons with the Hondius inset and Drake's Cove," while Dr. Neasham allows it "conceivably could be related to . . . Bolinas Lagoon."

Neither have produced a photograph of their comparisons, and until they do present a visual comparison, the Montanus illustration must be considered as either fanciful or San Francisco Bay and not "related to many spots in California including Bolinas Lagoon" or Drakes Estero.

**Guild:** Compare the Montanus print with photos and drawings of Drake's Cove, and note particularly the high bluffs on the north side and approach route from inland.

Striped tents are not Indian habitations; accounts describe them as conical.

**Neasham:** The Montanus drawing is fanciful.

**Power:** The Guild effectively states that the value of the Montanus illustration "depends upon positive identification of a site by other means." This is exactly what I illustrated in my opening statements. The Montanus view has become a very significant Tenet favoring San Francisco Bay because it correlates with the discovery site of the Plate of Brass, a good carenage site, and the location of Drake's fort as indicated in the comparison and correlation of the San Francisco Bay map and the *Portus Novæ Albionis*.

## Tenet 18

*What is the significance of the Declarations by the Spanish Captain Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño and others who were with him who were shipwrecked in 1595 in the bay presently known as Drakes Bay? (see p. 287).*

**Guild:** The Cermeño account gives a comparative record of navigation into Drakes Bay in 1595 in a ship of similar size and type as Drake's. The description is similar to Hakluyt's account of Drake entering a good bay. There is also a hint of Drake's prior presence.

We see Cermeño sailing close under Point Reyes, rounding up into Drakes Bay toward Drakes Estero, taking soundings along the course, and finally coming to anchor off the estero.

Cermeño gives evidence that Drake could have entered the estero by recording that at high tide there were three fathoms of water on the bar outside, about 16.5 feet. The *Golden Hinde's* deep draft was 13 feet.

Nowhere does Cermeño deny Drake's prior presence, and he leaves a hint that he saw evidence. Writing about Indian weapons, he recorded, "They had bows and arrows and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else" (see p. 288). Did he see iron in connection with the bows and arrows, perhaps iron arrow points made by Drake's blacksmith? We suspect so.

**Neasham:** So far as the Drake expedition is concerned, the most important fact about Cermeño's visit in 1595 was that he made no mention of Drake whatsoever. In fact, his reference to "no other iron" indicates there was no evidence of Europeans ever having been at Drakes Bay. If Drake landed at Bolinas Lagoon, Cermeño, who did not visit that area, would not have seen the fort or artifacts the English left behind. Sailing southward from Drakes Bay between the Farallones and the mainland in an open boat on his departure, Cermeño also failed to sight San Francisco Bay.

**Power:** The Cermeño account is very significant in that the experience encountered in Drakes Bay in 1595 by the Spanish can be correlated with Drake's experience in the

Bay of Nova Albion in 1579. There are far more dissimilarities between the Cermeño and Drake accounts than there are similarities, strongly suggesting that Drake did not visit the Drakes Bay area.

Drake's *Golden Hinde* safely entered an inner harbor on the day of arrival; Cermeño never did take the *San Agustín* into an inner harbor. Drake experienced complete nautical safety, while the *San Agustín* was wrecked on Drakes Bay beach.

Cermeño reported that the Indians at Drakes Bay ate crabs as one of their principal foods. Drake never mentions this delectable creature, which is strictly a coastal food.

Drake saw many more Indians than Cermeño. According to *The World Encompassed* the king himself had a "guard of about 100 tall and warlike men" complemented by "a great assembly of men, women and children" (see p. 282 and 281). Cermeño never saw more than a hundred adult Indians at one time. This differential reflects the demographic difference between east and west Marin County when the Coast Miwok lived there.<sup>73</sup>

Drake took overnight to reach the Farallones, while Cermeño in his survival launch passed those islands on the day of departure.

**Guild:** Cermeño remained at anchor in Drakes Bay for the simple reason that there was no need of kedging his fully laden ship into Drakes Estero. He assumed that the bay was safe, for his worst weather had come from the northwest, and he intended to stay only long enough to assemble a prefabricated launch.

Mention of Drake's victuals as "Muscles, Seales, and such like" is sufficient to encompass crabs, but while we know that the Indians ate them, what evidence is there that Drake's men would have eaten them?

Regarding numbers of Indians seen by each expedition, Drake saw a great number on *one* occasion because they came from inland especially to see the English. No such delegation visited Cermeño.

If Cermeño said of the Indians that he saw "no other iron," what iron did he see? Indians here are not known to have used iron.

**Neasham:** Cermeño gave no evidence in his account that other Europeans had ever been at Drakes Bay, let alone Drake. Surely, he would have mentioned the fort which Drake had left behind. Even if Cermeño had put up his fortification on Limantour Spit to the east, a mile or two away, he would have seen Drake's fort at the estero entrance. Why did he not mention it? If there, would he not have used it, rather than to go to all the work of building his own? One wonders also why Cermeño had not taken his ship into the protection of the inner estero, if it was such a good spot for Drake. Instead, Cermeño remained at anchor outside the bar, until blown ashore in a winter storm from the southwest.

As to Cermeño's mention of "no other kind of iron," there is nothing to indicate that the Indians had arrows made by Drake's blacksmiths. The wording speaks for itself: "They had bows and arrows and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else." To this writer this means the Indians had bows and arrows, but not any kind of iron with which to cut weapons or other things. Of the more than 800 non-Indian artifacts found in Indian sites near the estero of Drakes Bay, no English iron arrow point has been discovered. Iron ship spikes and bars, yes, in all probability utilized by the natives after Cermeño's wreck and departure.

**Power:** The Guild's sole evidence that there was sufficient water in Drake's time over the bar at Drakes Estero is Cermeño's report of 3 fathoms over the bar, which the Guild translates as meaning 16.5 feet. The *Golden Hinde's* draft was stated as 13 feet, so a flotation differential of 3.5 feet is indicated. However, "3 fathoms" is a rounded number, as is "draft of 13 feet," and not a precise reading down to the inch, so that the figures



really express depths ranging from 2.5 to 3.5 fathoms and drafts ranging from 12.5 to 13.5 feet.

Therefore, 3 fathoms can be any depth between 13.5 feet and 18.5 feet. The former is too shallow to allow the *Golden Hinde* with a potential draft of 13.5 to safely enter Drakes Estero. This could explain why Cermeño did not enter Drakes Estero with the *San Augustin* which the Guild says was similar in size and type to the *Golden Hinde*.

I have no disagreement with Dr. Neasham on this tenet.

**Guild:** Regarding draft of the *Golden Hinde* versus depth on the bar at Drakes Estero, we disagree with Mr. Power's assumption about rounding off figures. Notation of ship's draft can be expected to be *maximum*. Depth on the bar can be expected to be *minimum* and would be expressed to the nearest half or quarter fathom, not the nearest whole fathom.

In our observations of Drake's Cove we have seen evidence that the beach was overtopped by the sea many times. All traces of a sand and loose stone fort would have vanished long before Cermeño arrived sixteen years later. Under changed conditions, the site was probably too exposed to winter weather in November.

Regarding "no other kind of iron," the word "other" (*otro*) speaks for itself and literally indicates that something of iron was seen.

**Neasham:** The statement of the Guild, "Indians here [at Drakes Bay] are not known to have used iron," speaks for itself.

**Power:** I see no challenge to my statement, "There are far more dissimilarities between the Cermeño and Drake accounts than there are similarities." To keep the record straight, there is no support in the accounts that the Indian delegation "came from inland" as alleged by the Guild.

As to the question, "What evidence is there that Drake's men would haven eaten [crabs];" on "Crab-Island" near the Celebes Drake's men found that large land crabs would "satisfie foure hungry men at a dinner."<sup>74</sup>

## Tenet 19

*Discuss the significance of the cartographic information about the California coast contained in Robert Dudley's 1647 atlas, Arcano del Mare, and manuscript chart (see pp. 212-3, 264-5).*

**Guild:** Because Dudley, through family connections and his plans to emulate Drake's voyage while Drake was still alive, was likely to have information on Nova Albion from Drake, his charts showing Drake's anchorage are important sources for locating Drake's haven.

Most significant is his Manuscript Chart No. 85, precedent for the published version in his 1647 atlas, *Arcano del Mare*, Chart No. XXXIII. Dudley probably drew from memory, but the Drake anchorage he shows at latitude 38° is unique to Drakes Bay. In the bay named *B: di Noua Albion* is a small inner waterway corresponding to Drakes Estero named *Il Por:to boniss.mo*, literally "the best of ports." A point on the west side is simply named *La Punta*, much as Point Reyes today is familiarly referred to as "the point." A line of soundings on a northeasterly course to the port corresponds to depths in Drakes Bay. In the published version, the haven is identified only as *Po:to di Nuoua Albion*, port of Nova Albion.



GUILD: In this detail of Dudley's Carta Particolare, Chart No. XXXIII, from Arcano del Mare, the place B:S: Michele with an island in its mouth represents Bodega Bay and Bodega Rock. Drakes Bay logically follows at 38° N. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

GUILD: Drake's anchorage is at the center of this detail of Dudley's Manuscript Chart No. 85. The depths reflect an entering course to an inner port, Il Por:to boniss.mo. La Punta suggests Point Reyes; Il Por:to, Drakes Estero. Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

**Neasham:** The significance of the *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale* (see p. 212) is that the port of Nova Albion is located in an inner harbor below  $38^\circ$ , about  $37^\circ 50'$ , at the location of Bolinas Bay. Directly to the north a few miles are the Port of Don Gaspar and the Río Salado, names given to Drakes Bay and its estero in 1603 by the Vizcaino expedition.

The *Carta Particolare* (see p. 213) shows an anchorage a little above  $38^\circ$ , but also a few miles below the Bay of San Michele, another name for what is now Drakes Bay. San Michele on the Hondius chart of 1618 is called San Miguel. In the *Carta Particolare* fathom depths of 8, 6, 4, and 3 are given for Drake's anchorage, which essentially agree with the 6, 5, 4, 3 given on the Manuscript Map No. 85. Indicated on this manuscript map, in the relative positions of the Port of Don Gaspar and Río Salado of the *Sub-map* and San Michele of the *Carta Particolare*, are the Bay of Sardir and the Río Sardir, sometimes called Sardina.

This writer, believing in the authenticity of Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, was able, thus, to find in 1973 the probable remains of Drake's fort on the west shore of Bolinas Lagoon.

**Power:** Although Robert Dudley may have been in a position as a young man to have gained special knowledge about the Drake voyage, it is not established that he did gain such information, and therefore, there is no demonstrated significance in the two charts he published a half century later in his monumental *Dell Arcano del Mare*.

Dudley's material is not a reliable source of evidence for either Drakes Estero, Bo-





linas, or San Francisco Bay, but if one desires to use his information in favor of one place or another, it would be more positive for San Francisco Bay than any other anchorage.

**Guild:** None of the three relevant Dudley charts shows anything corresponding to San Francisco Bay. Chart No. XXXIII and Manuscript Chart No. 85 show a track of soundings that do not correspond with the very deep depths of the Golden Gate. Nor can Dudley's bays be compared with the Gulf of the Farallones as a whole for the same reason.

None of the pertinent Dudley charts shows anything comparable to Bolinas Lagoon, whether one acknowledges the barrier beach or not. Dudley shows no sign of Duxbury Reef, and while there are soundings in Bolinas Bay that compare with his, a ship cannot take the course indicated by them without running afoul of the reef. And Duxbury Point is hardly significant enough to be called *La Punta*.

The 1618 Hondius map<sup>75</sup> is so distorted and corrupted that it is worthless as a source pertaining to early navigations. Where Dr. Neasham sees Drakes Bay in *B. de S. Miguel* on this map is beyond comprehension. It is located in 46° N. with a very large island at its mouth. *San Miguel* was the name that Cabrillo gave to San Diego Harbor.

**Neasham:** Davidson in 1889 identified Drake's anchorage as Drakes Bay. He based his conclusion partly on the similarity of Hondius' *Portus Novæ Albionis* and Dudley's Drake anchorage as shown in the *Carta Prima Generale*, *Carta Particolare*, and Manuscript Chart No. 85. As stated, Drake's anchorage on these charts is shown directly south of the port of Don Gaspar, the Bay of San Michele, and the Bay of Sardir, which Davidson incorrectly identified as Bodega and Tomales bays, not having the information used by later scholars.<sup>76</sup>

Advocates of the estero of Drakes Bay as Drake's anchorage, taking Davidson's conclusions for granted, also have placed Drake's anchorage mistakenly in Drakes Bay. *Il Por:to boniss.mo* of the Manuscript Chart No. 85 is identified with the inner harbor of Bolinas Bay, which formerly had similar fathom depths.

The statement that the Dudley charts are more positive for San Francisco Bay than any other anchorage is denied. Neither in size, shape, or fathom depths can the Dudley charts be compared to San Francisco Bay. San Francisco Bay, not seen by Drake, and as shown by the Spanish after its discovery by Portolá, was much larger and deeper than Bolinas Bay and Drakes Bay. The Dudley charts on the other hand show Drakes Bay (Don Gaspar, San Michele, and Sardir) to be approximately the same size of the bay to the south (or slightly larger) in which Drake anchored.

**Power:** The Guild selects two out of three of Robert Dudley's charts which depict a bay of Nova Albion, one in manuscript form and the other published in Florence in 1646-7, to bolster their case for Drakes Estero.

The Guild reluctantly admits "Dudley probably drew [Drakes anchorage] from memory" and speculates that he gained his information "while Drake was living," which, by 1646, would have required over a half-century of recall of cartographic detail.

The amazing part of the Guild's claim is that Dudley's efforts in no way resemble Drakes Bay and/or Estero. The manuscript chart depicts a bay eighteen miles in diameter and the published version is expanded to twenty-four miles in diameter. The latter is three times wider than the widest part of Drakes Bay. Both bays have a "mouth" rather than a gulf configuration. The so-called "inner waterway" that they see as Drakes Estero is merely a diagrammatic river entrance symbol which Dudley used repeatedly on his numerous maps.



equally apply to San Francisco Bay, and its size makes it far more like San Francisco Bay in nature than Bolinas Lagoon.

**Guild:** Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* was published in 1646–47. It required eight years to engrave. Manuscript Chart No. 85 is undated, but most certainly his manuscript atlas preceded the engraved atlas.

Manuscript Chart No. 85 and Chart No. XXXIII show that Dudley considered Drake's anchorage to be the southern of two bays. We conclude the northern represents Bodega Bay, thereby making the other Drakes Bay.

For his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima*, Dudley appears to have cribbed from a map by John Daniel which showed only Vizcaino's *P. de Don Gaspar* in  $38^{\circ} 30'$ ,<sup>77</sup> but Dudley added the two-bay concept below that port with Drake's anchorage in about  $38^{\circ}$ , evidently regarding Vizcaino's port as a new discovery.

Compared with Dudley's bay, *Il Por:to boniss.<sup>mo</sup>* is on the wrong side of Bolinas Lagoon, and nothing on the northeast side compares with Dudley's inlet. Also, the axis of Bolinas Lagoon is  $90^{\circ}$  away from Dudley's bay and tapered instead of rounded in form.

**Neasham:** Dudley's depiction of the latitude of Drake's anchorage south of the port of Don Gaspar and Río Salado, at about  $37^{\circ} 50'$ , would apply to both Bolinas Bay and San Francisco Bay.<sup>78</sup> Because Drake did not enter San Francisco Bay, his landing can be ascribed only to Bolinas Lagoon.

As to *B. de S. Miguel* on the 1618 Hondius map, it is agreed this is not a good source, its latitudes being far too high. What this writer had in mind, however, was that San Miguel in Spanish, San Michele in French, and St. Michael in English have the same meaning. Therefore it is not surprising that Hondius used San Miguel instead of Dudley's San Michele to denote Drakes Bay.

**Power:** The Guild's rebuttal statement, "None of the three Dudley charts involved shows anything corresponding to San Francisco Bay," appears to be deliberately deceptive. Two Dudley charts could represent any anchorage Drake used in the vicinity of  $38^{\circ}$  since these charts appear to be entirely composed of imaginary geographic forms.<sup>79</sup>

However, the principal deception concerns the remaining Dudley chart, the *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*. This is a real map of California compiled by the Vizcaino expedition of 1602–03, and it does depict in  $38^{\circ} 45' P: o di don Gaspar$  (Drakes Bay)<sup>80</sup> and *R. Salado* (Drakes Estero).<sup>81</sup> However, Dudley rejected both of these as the anchorage of Drake and inserted into this Vizcaino map an anchorage just below  $38^{\circ}$  marked *P: o dell' uono Albion*, which establishes beyond all challenge the fact that Dudley did not believe Drake landed at Drakes Bay or Estero.

## Tenet 20

*What is the significance of the account of Drake's pilot, N. de Morena, who claimed that he had been put ashore at an "arm of the sea" which he believed connected with the Gulf of California and the Atlantic Ocean? (see p. 286).*

**Guild:** The account states that Drake left Morena at the place (*paraje*) of an arm of the sea, and, significantly, that Morena had discovered this arm which he interpreted to be



both a passage to the Atlantic and an inland passage connecting with the Gulf of California, in effect making California an island.

From Drakes Bay, Morena had inadvertently come upon the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay. He probably did not see the termination of the southern end of the bay, and the northern end of the bay would have seemed possibly to go on across the continent. Indians probably ferried him across the bay.

Morena was tremendously impressed, and it is likely that his story had an effect on Spanish authorities. Cermeño, for example, probably knew of Morena's "arm of the sea" and planned to find it. He would also know that not far north of it he would find Drake's bay where he could set up a launch to explore the passage.

The earliest hint of Morena's reference to California as an island occurs in the Hondius Broadside text; others appear in the Bry's *America Achter Teil* (Frankfurt, c. 1599) and in Antonio de Herrera's Drake account, *Historia General del Mundo* (1606).

**Neasham:** Morena's account that he had been left in California by Drake can be regarded only as secondary information, and, possibly, hearsay. It is doubtful that data about the existence of San Francisco Bay, if supplied by him, ever reached official ears in Spain. If it had, it would have been recorded. Under the rigid Spanish colonial system, from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries every expedition was required by law to give an accurate account of its activities, where it had gone, and what it had done and seen. The archives in Spain are full of such accounts. Also applied to individuals, this policy was a means of maintaining control over a vast, far-flung empire, world-wide in scope.

Had Morena's journey been so recorded and the existence of the present San Francisco Bay been known, then Portolá, the official Spanish discoverer of San Francisco Bay, would not have been so astonished in 1769 to find the great inland estuary (present San Francisco Bay) blocking his way in his attempt from Monterey to reach the *Bahía de San Francisco*, as Drakes Bay was then called, having been so named by Cermeño in 1595.

**Power:** Drake's Portuguese pilot, N. de Morena, in a report to the Governor of New Galicia (Mexico), Rodrigo del Rio, in about 1583 claimed to have been left behind by Francis Drake in the Strait of Anian, more dead than alive. He soon recovered his health, he claimed, and in the next four years he walked through the land, sighted the Gulf of California, and then continued southward until he reached the capitol of New Galicia. He hypothesized that the Gulf of California went northward to join with the place where the Englishman had put him ashore. He offered to take the governor back to Drake's stopping place on an arm of the sea, and there they could easily cross to the other side. The viewing of the San Francisco Peninsula as an island is a fair observation from southern Marin County because there is no visible end to San Francisco Bay from that vantage point.

There is no other explanation of N. de Morena's story than to assume that in his mind he did link San Francisco Bay and the Gulf of California.

**Guild:** The significance of Fra. Zárate Salmeron's relation of Morena's account in identifying Drake's landing place is that Morena stated he saw what is presently known as San Francisco Bay.

If Morena had been with Drake in San Francisco Bay he would not have been under the illusion that a passage existed to the Atlantic or the Gulf of California, because Drake's explorations would have disproved that assumption.

Although Morena's account has not come to light in the Spanish Archives, this fact does not arbitrarily make it untrue or dubious. It is likely that Morena's account was

simply too dangerous to the interests of New Spain to have been put in writing. Another account not found in the archives is that of Juan de Fuca, who is credited with discovery of the strait bearing his name.

**Neasham:** Had Morena seen San Francisco Bay and conjectured that it was connected with the Gulf of California, thus causing California to be shown on some maps of the seventeenth century as an island (proven otherwise by later explorations which reached the mouth of the Colorado River), he must have believed he had reached the fabled Strait of Anian marking the Northwest Passage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not finding San Francisco Bay, the Spanish put little faith in such a passage in California, particularly after Cermeño in 1595 and Vizcaino in 1603 had conducted explorations along this part of the coast. Had there been a belief in the passage in the vicinity of 38°, surely Spain would have exploited it fully for defensive and strategic reasons.

**Power:** There is agreement with the Guild that at least one member of the Drake expedition saw San Francisco Bay. The Guild makes a minor error as to what Morena reported and experienced. Namely, Morena did not believe that the harbor in the arm of the sea where Drake stopped was a passage to the Atlantic. His statement was that in the "Strait of Anian," i.e., on the northwest coast of America, Drake stopped in a harbor on an arm of the sea and there Drake put Morena on land. In 1579, the Strait of Anian was an imaginary north-south strait separating Asia and America beginning in 40° N. latitude, thus the outer coast of California and Oregon were considered the coast in the "Strait of Anian."

The "arm of the sea" refers to San Francisco Bay, and the harbor correlates to an anchorage at Point San Quentin. It is my opinion that Morena crossed the Straits of San Pablo and not the Golden Gate, so San Francisco remained an "island" in his mind.

Dr. Neasham chooses to discount this legend because it contributes nothing to his case for Bolinas.

**Guild:** Evidence that Morena considered the northern reaches of San Francisco Bay a possible route to the Atlantic is implicit in the statement "that from the point where they put him ashore he would venture to get to Spain in 40 days in a good ship's tender" (see p. 287). He could not have had the polar route in mind, considering Drake's difficulties.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

**Neasham:** Morena's statement, if truthful, that he saw San Francisco Bay does not imply Drake had left him at that exact location. Both Bolinas Bay and San Francisco Bay are in the same general location. Morena would have noted San Francisco Bay while traveling southward to Mexico from Bolinas Bay.

**Power:** The Guild and I both agree that Drake's pilot, N. de Morena, apparently did report the discovery of San Francisco Bay to the Governor of New Galicia in about 1583. I doubt, however, if Morena would have known Drake's geographic opinions, as he was more "dead than alive" when he was set ashore so the "airs of the land" could give him life.

Morena's opinion was that the harbor where Drake stopped ran southward to join the Gulf of California, but it was very easy to cross the "arm of the sea" in Drake's stopping place to reach the "island" of California which I interpret to be the San Francisco peninsula. If Morena saw San Francisco Bay, it is because Drake left him in a harbor on the "arm of the sea" we call San Francisco Bay.

## Summary Statement

**Guild:** When Drake saw the white cliffs at Drakes Bay, for which he named Nova Albion, he saw the bay and Drakes Estero, and as his purpose was to find a port to careen and refit his ship, logically, he must investigate this haven. He found a suitable cove in the estero and so went no farther south. Only here does the bay, terrain, and weather suit all of the requirements of the historic accounts and Drake's Cove conform to the Hondius inset. Only here is the inland *far* different from the shore.

**Neasham:** The discovery in 1973 of the remains of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon, if confirmed, would pin-point this as his California landing site in 1579.

The exponents for the estero at Drakes Bay, following the conclusions of Davidson, mistakenly placed Drake's anchorage there. The adherents of San Francisco Bay, not conceding the Drake Plate had not been placed there originally, are also in error. Drake's quest for the Northwest Passage, and his failure to find it, is substantial proof that he did not enter San Francisco Bay.

**Power:** This debate has demonstrated that Drake discovered San Francisco Bay on June 17, 1579.

The Portus Plan has over ten points of comparison with San Francisco Bay, and the correlation indicates Drake "entrenched himself on land" at Point San Quentin. Up the ridge a mile, the Drake Plate of Brass was discovered in 1936, and just short of that point there is a landscape view that corresponds favorably to the Montanus illustration.

The flora and fauna are heavily favorable to San Francisco Bay, as is the fact Drake discovered and entered "with a good winde" a "very good harbour."

## NOTES

1. Manuscript in brass (Drake's "Plate of Brass"), with date of arrival in Nova Albion, in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
2. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, 34 (Cleveland, 1966. Offset edition of Huntington Library copy of the first edition [London, 1628].)
3. Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate?*, 115 (San Mateo, 1969).
4. Richard Willes and Richard Eden, *The History of Travel in the East and West Indies* . . . (London, 1577). Essay by Willes "For. M. Cap. Furbyshers Passage By the Northwest. . ."
5. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 2, p. 282, maps 75, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84 (Berkeley, 1937).
6. Robert H. Power, "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay," in *California Historical Quarterly*, 52:104, [111] (Summer, 1973).
7. Jodocus Hondius, *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae*, [London, 1589]; second edition of Hondius map known as "Broadside," [Amsterdam, 1593-95].
8. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589). Facsimile reprint, Hakluyt Society Extra Series, No. 39, Cambridge, 1965); John Stow, *A Summarie of The Chronicles of England* . . . (London, 1590); William Camden, *Annales* (London, 1615); Jodocus Hondius "Broadside" map text (c. 1595); Theodore de Bry, *Americae Pars VIII* (Frankfort, 1599); and Robert Dudley charts.
9. Robert F. Heizer and William W. Elmendorf, "Francis Drake's California Anchorage in Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," in *Pacific Historical Review*, 11:213-17 (1942).



10. George Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington Territory*, 77 (Washington, D.C., 1869).
11. In honor of Daniel Bernoulli (1700–82) who authored *Hydrodynamia* (1738) which dealt with the motion of fluids and gases. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 3:458 (1961).
12. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 77.
13. Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, Appendix VIII, p. 435 (San Francisco, 1929).
14. George Davidson, *Examination of Some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603*, 214 (Report of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D.C., 1887).
15. S.S. Hawaiian Planter, voyage No. 20, San Francisco to Portland, Oregon.
16. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 171 (fourth edition, 1889).
17. Maguerite Eyer Wilbur, ed., *Vancouver in California: The Original Account of George Vancouver*, 1 (Los Angeles, 1954).
18. A. Lincoln, "The Beechey Expedition Visits San Francisco Bay," in *Pacific Discovery*, California Academy of Sciences, 22:1–8 (January–February, 1969).
19. Richard Hakluyt, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Trafiques, and Discoveries . . .*, vol. III, p. 440 (London, 1600).
20. "Mapa de la Carcel de Sn Quentin y Vecindad by Bullivar Gran, Piloto precedente del bergantin "Rosinante" (circa 1860). "Prepared in 1951 from badly crumpled blueprint map found in dead files" at San Quentin Prison.
21. Adolph S. Oko, "Francis Drake and Nova Albion," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 43:136[c] (June, 1964). The photo appears to be retouched yet it clearly shows no "cove" existed circa 1956 when "Drake's Cove" was identified by the Drake Navigators Guild.
22. Adan E. Treganza, "The Examination of Indian Shellmounds in the Tomales and Drakes Bay Area with Reference to Sixteenth Century Historic Contact," manuscript on file at State of California Department of Parks and Recreation, History Section.
23. Davidson, *Examination of Some of the Early Voyages*, 214.
24. *Entrance to San Francisco Bay*, California Coast Survey Office (Washington, D.C., 1859).
25. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 76. "[Bolanos] Lagoon . . . except [for] small crooked channels, is bare at low tides, and filled with small inlets."
26. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 77.
27. "Tide Predictions for Drakes Bay, California, 1579," prepared for the Drake Navigators Guild by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey (Washington, D.C., 1953).
28. Stanger and Brown, *Who Discovered*, 112.
29. John D. Ritter, *Bolinas Lagoon, Marin County, California: Summary of Sedimentation and Hydrology*, 1967–69, pp. 15–16, 60 (U.S. Geological Survey, Menlo Park, 1973).
30. See *The World Encompassed*; Hakluyt's account; and de Bry, *Americæ, Pars VIII*.
31. Letter from Dr. Kenneth Lajoie, U.S. Geological Survey, Menlo Park, to Robert H. Power, Feb. 26, 1974.
32. Interview with Thomas J. Barfield, Bolinas, 1973.
33. *The World Displayed; or a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels . . .*, 151 (Dublin, 1779; sixth edition, corrected, printed by James Williams).
34. "Declaration of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño. Statement by Juan del Rio; Cermeño's ensign," in Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 166.
35. See Robert W. Allen, *Identification of "an herbe much like our lectuce . . ." (Point Reyes, 1969)*.
36. See Robert W. Allen, *An Examination of the Botanical References in the Accounts Relating to Drake's Encampment at Nova Albion in 1579 (Point Reyes, 1969)*.
37. See Allen, *Examination of Botanical References*.
38. John Thomas Howell, *Marin Flora*, 219 (Berkeley, 1970).
39. See Allen, *Identification of "an herbe much like our lectuce. . . ."*
40. See Robert W. Allen and Robert W. Parkinson, *Identification of the Nova Albion Conie (Point Reyes, 1969)*.
41. Joseph Grinnell and Joseph Dixon, "Natural History of the Ground Squirrel of California," in *The Monthly Bulletin*, 7:625–26 (1918).
42. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in al Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*, 968 (London, 1617).
43. *The World Encompassed*, 96–97.

44. Grinnell and Dixon, *Monthly Bulletin*, 7:625-26.
45. Robert H. Power, "Drake's Experience on the San Francisco Bay Shore Commenced the Overseas British Empire," speech delivered to Library Associates, University of California, Davis, in December, 1972. (To be published in 1974.)
46. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 274 (Berkeley, 1953).
47. V. Aubrey Neasham and William E. Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing: The Evidence for Bolinas Lagoon*, 16 (Sacramento, 1974)
48. Neasham and Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing*, 22.
49. Walter A. Starr, "Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay in 1579. The Testimony of the Plate of Brass," in *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:3-4 (September, 1962).
50. Robert T. Schenk, ed., *Contribution to the Archaeology of Point Reyes National Seashore: A Compendium in Honor of Adan E. Treganza*, 256 (San Francisco, 1970)
51. Neasham and Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing*, 12, 18.
52. See Raymond Aker, *The Cermeño Expedition at Drakes Bay, 1595* (Point Reyes, 1956).
53. Ritter, *Bolinas Lagoon*, 8
54. Starr, *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:4.
55. "Personalial and Marginalia," in *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
56. Leon Bocqueraz, "Finding the Drake Plate," a taped interview by Willa Baum, under the auspices of University Libraries Cultural History Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, on November 9, 1955 and January 10, 1956.
57. *The Plate of Brass: Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the Year 1579*, 16 (San Francisco, 1953).
58. *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
59. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 7, 1937. Caption, in part, read, "His chance discovery netted Shinn \$3,500."
60. *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
61. Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin, *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, 11 (San Francisco, California Historical Society, Special Publication No. 14, 1938).
62. *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
63. Bocqueraz interview, 1955.
64. Bolton, Herbert, et al, *Drake's Plate of Brass: Evidence of His Visit to California in 1579* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, Special Publication No. 13, 1937).
65. George Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the Year 1579*, 5, 57 (San Francisco, 1890).
66. Letter to Robert Power from Lt. Cmdr. D. W. Waters, July 13, 1960.
67. Wilbur, *Vancouver in California*, 1.
68. A. D. Fer, *A Short Easy Method to Understand Geography*, 37 (London, [1730?]).
69. Translation of legends of *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* by Rev. John Casey.
70. Stanger and Brown, *Who Discovered*, 145.
71. As a matter of practice courts in the state of California will admit fingerprint testimony from the FBI for identification of a defendant if there are ten or more points of agreement in fingerprint comparisons.
72. "Question: The Relationship between Arnold Montanus and Petrus Montanus," fourteen-page manuscript and geneaology chart prepared for Robert H. Power (Amsterdam, 1957).
73. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 274.
74. *The World Encompassed*, 96-97.
75. Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*, Plate no. 11.
76. Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*, 17-20, 49. Davidson was unaware, apparently, that the names Don Gaspar and Río Salado were given to present Drakes Bay and its estero by Gerónimo Palacios, chief cosmographer of the Vizcaino expedition, in 1603.
77. See comparative study in Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, 1:119-21 (Berkeley, 1937).
78. Francisco Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos Referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costa de las Californias . . .*, 170 (Madrid, 1882), quoting the derrotero of Palacios, clearly designates the present Drakes Bay as Puerto de Don Gaspar.
79. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 1, p. 122.
80. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 2, p. 448.
81. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 2, p. 494.

# APPENDIX

## I. Richard Hakluyt's 1589 Account With Notes to the 1600 Edition

*The earliest published account of Drake's voyage appeared in 1589 in Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation. Six unnumbered leaves were inserted in most copies of the original edition; they were titled, The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577. The following text is from the Hakluyt Society's 1965 facsimile reprint of the 1589 edition.*

*In his expanded edition titled The Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . , Volume III, published in London in 1600, Hakluyt included the Nova Albion account in two places. In one of these articles he made several changes which are indicated in the footnotes to the excerpt below. The subtitle or caption to the separate Nova Albion article read: The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the haven of Guatulco, in the South Sea on the backe side of Nueva Espanna, to the Northwest of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees; where finding a faire and goodly haven, he landed and staying there many weekes, and discovering many excellent things in the Countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, he tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Maiestie, and named it Nona Albion. The full 1600 text is available in the Hakluyt Society edition of 1903-05.*

. . . We therefore set saile, and sailed in longitude 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of Aprill, till the 3. of Iune.<sup>1</sup>

The 5. day of Iune, being in 42. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the aire so colde, that our men being greuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more colde increased vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but lowe plaine land, & clad, and couered ouer with snowe, so that we drew backe againe without landing, till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which heighth it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.<sup>2</sup>

In this Baye we ankered,<sup>3</sup> and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednes, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie; the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and cals of networke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, cliffs of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenes are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire

1. *The Course* reads, ". . . and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16th of Aprill, after our olde stile, till the third of Iune."

2. *The Course* reads, "The fift day of Iune, being in fortie three degrees towarde the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heat, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went the more the cold increased upon us; whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but lowe plain land and we drew backe again without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height, it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same."

3. *The Course* adds the date, "the seuenteenth of Iune, and. . ."



in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of TOBACCO for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staid themselues: where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time, the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to praier, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiu, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored again vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there, being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall, and warlike men: before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our General to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they strue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelines.

In the fore front was a man of goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruelous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their handes one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike shwee. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an howre: which ended, and a generall AMEN as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women which daunced, & kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their prouince & kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of HIOH, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knewe not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he took the scepter,

crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conuiently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in ye same.

The common sorte of people leauing the King, and his Garde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of bloode. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and staid their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippinge. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our companie to the houre of our departure, which departure, seemed so greeuous vnto them that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stelhth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie business being ended, our Generall with his companie traauiled vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found heardees of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie.

We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbarie Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnies, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this Countrey, NOUA ALBION, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of the earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not a reasonable quantitie of gold or siluer.<sup>4</sup>

At our departure hence our General set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeare of our arriual there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.<sup>5</sup>

After we had set saile from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following . . .

4. *The Course* reads, "... not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver."

5. *The Course* ends here.

*The Catalogue or table of contents in the 1600 edition of Hakluyt's Voyages carried this notice for the Drake article:*

Certaine voyages made for the discouery of the gulfes of *California*,  
and of the sea-coast on the Northwest or backside of *America*.

The voyage and course which sir *Francis Drake* held from the haen of *Cuctulco*, on the backside of *Neuea Espanna*, to the Northwest of *California*, as far as 43 degrees & from thence back againe to 38 degrees, where in a vary good harbour he graued his shippe, entrenched himselfe on land, called the countrey by the name of *Noua Albion*, and tooke possession thereof on the behalfe of her Maiestie.

pag. 440

II. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*

Another early account to appear in print, *The World Encompassed*, was apparently written a few years after Drake's return to England but not published until 1628, thirty-nine years after the Hakluyt version. For information on the visit in Nova Albion, both accounts relied heavily on the narrative of Francis Fletcher, preacher on the *Golden Hinde*. The relevant portion of Fletcher's narrative or notes have never been located, a fact which has frustrated historians to this day.

Reproduced below is the title page from the 1628 edition and the narrative (pp. 62-82) of the visit to Nova Albion, which has been transcribed from the Huntington Library's photo-reproduced edition of 1966.

# THE VVORLD Encompassed

By  
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE,

Being his next voyage to that to *Nombre  
de Dios* formerly imprinted;

Carefully collected out of the notes of Master  
FRANCIS FLETCHER Preacher in this im-  
ployment, and diuers others his followers in  
the same:

Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of  
the actor, but especially for the stirring vp of herack spirits,  
to benefit their Countre, and eternize their names  
by like noble attempts.



LONDON,

Printed for NICHOLAS BOVRNE  
and are to be sold at his shop at the  
*Royall Exchange. 1628.*



From Guatulco we departed the day following, viz. Aprill 16, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and Iune 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of vs all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone than any way so neere vnto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeede to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun preuailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselves within their couerts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremitie of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselues: our meate, as soone as it was remooued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp, and our ropes and tackling in a few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and vttermost endeaour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased vpon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our general be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the diuine prouidence, and of God's louing care ouer his children, out of the Scriptures; as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them vp to put on a good courage, and to quite themselves like men, to indure some short extremity to haue the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that euery man was thoroughly armed with willingnesse and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West than we before imagined, we were neerer on it then wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremitie of cold did sease vpon vs. The 5 day of Iune. wee were forced by contrary winde to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most uile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now vtterly discouraged our men) would not permit vs; and the winds directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten vs under sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in Iune, and the Sunne in his nearest approach vnto them, being couered with snow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and Iune 17 came to anchor therein: where we continued till the 23 day of Iuly following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of Summer, and so neere the Sunne; yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violeht exercises of our bodies, and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compeld us to the contrary, we could very well haue been contented to haue kept about us still our Winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of Sunne or starre.

And here hauing so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of

writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernes of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whcreby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident Father and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helpes nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs: neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone, whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preseruing of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that euen after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold Sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe, that caused this sensiblenes in vs, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furies, crowding close together, body to body, to receiue heate one of another, and sheltring themselves vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselves vnder our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itselfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of Iune and Iuly. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chiefe of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphe, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in Iune and Iuly, as the North wind alone is in August and September, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrey; hence comes it, that in the midst of their Summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hils at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne struiuing to performe his naturall office, in cleuating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the Sunnes indeuour, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect; and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandering vpon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly beene at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the Summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of Iune and Iuly.

And also from these reasons we coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these

Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, eune vnto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height, when we had a franke wind, to haue carried vs through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene had there been a srete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then coniectured, that there was none. But to returne.

The next day [June 18], after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of euerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabáh*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompenced him immediately with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3 day following, viz., the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against our safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt vs: standing, when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselues so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, vsed all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally good and necessary things to couer their nakedness; withall signifying vnto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends, for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remooue that opinion which they had conceiued of vs, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed vpon our Generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of



networke, and quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake; its made in bignesse and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kembing it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceedingly ready in all seruices; yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shrieking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisdom too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs careful to prouide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselues with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselues, we might be able to keepe off the enemie (if they should so proue) from comming amongst vs without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuitd by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobáh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottome where of wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration; deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cried *Oh*: thereby giuing their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselves happy that they might haue accesse vnto our Generall, but much more happy when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselves nearest vnto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, vsed vnnatural violence against themselves, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their breasts, besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads that they might not rescue their breasts from harme, they would with furie cast themselves vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, nobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whateuer else lay in their way, iterating the same course againe and againe; yea women great with child, some

nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves: a thing more grievous for vs to see or suffer, could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prahers; and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was aboue: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and euerliuing God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the saluation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely: and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, *Gnadh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our Generall hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoever hee had receiued, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free access to see vs.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., June 26, came downe to see vs.

Before his comming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king, was coming and at hand. They in the deliury of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely as shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards, they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more strue to behaue themselves with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, (and in length about a yard and a halfe) before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled, besides a bagge of the herb *Tabáh*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same; and euen they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse, as some ten, some twelue, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some hauing cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the countrey vpon an herbe much like our lectuce, which exceeds any other downe in the world for finesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles, by no winds can be remoued. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose

haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuice.

This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all, that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobâh*, a roote which they call *Petâh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it raw; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe aforementioned, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

In the meane time, our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceiued terror and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or generall salutation, obseruing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, giuen by euery person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselves againe in their former order.

And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto obserued a kind of measures in a dance; whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassail boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with blood, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselves in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; unto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed beleuee that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyôh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselves were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the



same, both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselves to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and eyerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, lauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselues among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmelesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaille (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselues, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old aches, some shruncke sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pittie on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily euery third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they ofttimes forgate to prouide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had prouided for our selues, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselues to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but

yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a journey vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely a plate of bras, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuell there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselues to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselues what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriuell, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and grieued minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselues. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselues as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a strait, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enioy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

The 23. of Iuly they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint James), hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell Iuly 24, whereon we found such prouision as might competently serue our turne for a while. We departed againe the day next following, viz., Iuly 25. And our Generall now considering that the extremity of the cold not only continued, but increased, the Sunne being gone farther from vs, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest, cut off all hope of finding a passage through these Northerne parts, thought it necessarie to loose no time; and therefore with generall consent of all, bent his course directly to runne with the Ilands of the Moluccas. And so hauing nothing in our view but aire and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68. dayes, together, wee continued our course through the maine Ocean, till September 30. following, on which day we fell in kenne of certaine Ilands, lying about eight degrees to the Northward of the line.

### III. The "Anonymous Narrative"

*The author of the so-called "Anonymous Narrative" has not been identified, but he may have been one of the gentlemen who accompanied Drake on his voyage. Written in the third person, the account may have been compiled from notes taken from a verbal account of the voyage. The date of the manuscript is unknown, but it was probably written after the expedition's return to England. The yet-to-be-corrected latitudes given for the west coast of North America suggest a date before 1588. Richard Hakluyt and historian William Camden may have relied in part on this account for their own narratives. The manuscript is located in Harleian Manuscript No. 280, Folio 22, in the British Museum and the text below is quoted from Henry R. Wagner, Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World (Berkeley, 1926).*

... and here [Gatulco, Mexico] drake watered his ship & departed sayling northwardes till he came to .48. gr. of the septentrionall Latitud still finding a very lardge sea trending toward the north but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite hee turned back againe still keping along the cost as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to .44. gr. and then hee found a harborow for his ship where he grounded his ship to trim her, & heere came downe vnto them many of ye contrey people while they wer graving of their ship and had conference with them by synes, in this place drake set vp a greate post and nayled thereon a vjd, which the contrey people wooshipped as if it had bin god also he nayled vppon this post a plate of lead and scratched therein the Queenes name, and when they had graved & watred their ship in the latter ende of August they set sayle and bent their course .S.S.W. and had not the sight of land againe till ye latter end of november at which time they had sight of one of the Iles of Molucca, . . .

### IV. The Narrative of N. de Morena

*The following account was published by Father Jeronimo de Zárate Salmeron in his "Relation of Events in California and New Mexico up to 1626," and was translated and published in The Land of Sunshine, February, 1900. The brackets in the text are those of the original translator who assumed that the word paraje in the text, meaning place or residence, is a misprint for pasaje, meaning passage or strait.*

The Father Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, a friar of the Barefoot Carmelites, one of the three who went with Sebastian Vizcaino to the discovery of Cape Mendocino, gave me this narrative as a thing secure, wherefore I put his name here; and he says:

A foreign pilot, named N. de Morena, who steered the Englishman from the sea of the North [the Atlantic] to that of the South [the Pacific] through the strait of Anian, gave this narrative to Captain Rodrigo del Rio, Governor that then was of New Galicia. When the Captain Francisco



Draque [Francis Drake] returned to his country, this pilot—who had come emerging from the Strait in his company—was very sick, and more dead than alive; and to see if the airs of the land would give him life, as a dead thing they put him ashore. The which [pilot] in a few days recovered health and walked through that land for the space of four years. He came forth to N.M., and from there to Santa Barbara [in Chihuahua], and then passed to the mines of Sombreterete in search of said Rodrigo del Rio. And the said pilot recounted to him the following:

Having given a long narrative of his much wandering, he told him how the said Englishman, Francis Drake, in the passage [text: *paraje*, stopping place; apparently a misprint for *pasaje*] of the Strait of Anian, had put him ashore, for the reason aforesaid, and that after he had recovered health he had travelled through divers lands, through many provinces, more than 500 leagues of mainland, until he came far enough to catch sight of an arm of the sea which divides the lands of New Mexico from another very great land which is on the side of the West. And on the coast of that sea were many and great settlements, among the which is a nation of white people, the which are accustomed to go horseback, and fight with lance and dagger. It is not known what nation this may be. The said Father Fray Antonio says he believes they are Muscovites. I say that when we see them we shall know who they are. This pilot told how this arm of the sea runs from north to south; and that it seemed to him it went on to the northward to connect with the harbor where the Englishman had put him ashore. And that on that sea coast he had seen many and good harbors and great inlets; and that from the point where they put him ashore he would venture to get to Spain in 40 days in a good ship's-tender; and that he must go to get acquainted with the Court of England. [Apparently quoting what Drake said to him.]

He offered himself to take the said Rodrigo del Rio to the passage [again *paraje*] of the arm of the sea which he discovered; and said that he could easily cross him over to the other side.

This arm of the sea is held to be an assured thing. It is that of the Gulf of California, called Mar Rojo [Red Sea]; and the land which is on the other side is that of the Californias. As they told me it, so I set it down, without quitting nor adding anything of my own part. [literally, of my house.]

## V. The Account of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño

*By the late sixteenth century the Spanish had developed a healthy trade arrangement between settlements in Mexico and the Philippines, and it was with a calculating eye that they began to investigate the possibility of a triangular route with suitable sites on the coast of the North American continent. In March, 1594, Rodriguez Cermeño (alternatively, Zermenyo and Sermeño) sailed from Acapulco to the Philippines, and by the end of the year after an uneventful passage, he entered what is presently known as Drakes Bay. It was later reported that his vessel was soon wrecked by a storm in the bay. Following is the portion of Cermeño's own account of his voyage along the coast of Northern California. Most of the Cermeño documents, including signed and unsigned Declarations and witnessed statements, are to be found in the Archives in Seville. The following translation is by Henry Wagner and was published in the California Historical Society Quarterly, 3:12-15 (April, 1924).*

"That night the wind came up strong from the northwest and the sea came on our beam, and from midnight on it blew so strong that it was necessary to strike the foresail. As the weather was severe, we kept getting near the land, and having reached it, a *morro* was discovered, which makes a high land and seemed like the Punta del Brazil of Tercera.

"Running along a musket-shot from the land, we saw a point which bore northwest, and entering by this we saw that there was a large bay. Here I went on casting the lead, with the bow headed north a quarter northeast, with the bottom of the sea of sand and clean, and went to seven fathoms, where I anchored. The point on the west side bore southwest quarter west, and the one on the east, south-southeast. The bay is very large and shaped like a horseshoe, and a river runs into it, and on the bar at high tide there are three fathoms of water, and from the bar outside to the entrance of the anchorage there is a distance of two shots of an arquebus.

"Having anchored in this bay, we saw in the middle of it three small islands which bore south-southwest, and to the south a small island of half a league in size. The islands trended northwest-

southeast. The land is bare. The river above referred to enters into the land three leagues and has a narrow mouth, while above in some parts it is a league in width, and in others a half a league. On the west side it has two branches of half a league each, and on the east side one, the entrance of which is a matter of a quarter of a league from the bar. Entering by this one, you will find fresh water on the right side, which comes from another river with a plentiful supply of water, and where this falls in there are Indians settled. They are well set up and robust with long hair, and go entirely naked, only the women wearing skirts of grass and deerskins. Any place where there are sandbanks near the sea you can find drinking water by digging down a little distance."

"Having anchored in this bay on the 6th, shortly an Indian, one of those living on the beach, came out in a small boat made of grass which looks like the bulrushes of the lake of Mexico. The Indian was seated in the middle of this, and he had in his hand an oar with two blades with which he rowed with great swiftness. He came alongside the ship, where he remained a good while, talking in his language without anyone understanding what he was saying. Being addressed with kind words, he came closer to the ship, and there we gave him things such as pieces of silk and cotton and other trifles which the ship carried, and with which he returned to shore very contented. The next day, the 7th, four other Indians came out to the ship in the same kind of boats. They came aboard and did the same as the first one.

"In order to see the character of the land and put in hand what was contemplated, namely, the building of a launch to prosecute the discovery, I sent in the ship's boat twenty-two men, seventeen of them armed with arquebuses and three with shields, and the ensign and the sergeant. I went ashore with it and landed on the beach, where I found near by many Indians—men, women, and children, who had their dwellings there. These were pits made in the sand and covered with grass, in the manner of the Chichimecos Indians. They had bows and arrows, and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else. The people were painted in certain parts, although the paint is not so thick as with the Chichimecos.

"The land seems fertile as far as three leagues inland, according to what I saw and what the other Spaniards saw whom I took with me to seek food, of which there was need on account of the loss of the ship. The soil will return any kind of seed that may be sown, as there are trees which bear hazelnuts, acorns and other fruits of the country, madrones and fragrant herbs like those in Castile. There is also near where I went to seek food a branch of a river which runs into the sea, and near the camp are other arroyos of fresh water about two musket shots from the sea. There are also in the country a quantity of crabs and wild birds and deer, with which the people maintain their existence: And this is put down in the declaration, and I have knowledge of it as a person who twice went inland to seek food, as we had none.

"On Friday morning the 8th of December, we left the bay and port of San Francisco—or as its other name is, Bahía Grande—where we were shipwrecked. This bay is in  $38\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$ , and the islands which are in the mouth (of the bay) are in  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and from one point of the bay to the other there may be a distance of twenty-five leagues. I passed near the islands and about a league more or less from the land; and this day I sailed about ten leagues and lay to during the following night. On the following day, which was the 9th, I coasted along the coast until sundown, when I anchored so as not to pass behind the point by night. Up to this point the coast runs northwest and southeast. I did not take the sun during the day because it did not appear; it was cloudy and there was much wind. During the day I travelled twenty-two leagues without discovering during the whole journey anything worthy of mention. Sailing close to the land and at times within a musket-shot of it, one could see it plainly, and that it was bare, like rough broken country, although above on the mountains there were some pine and oak trees. The land seemed to be unpopulated, as no people were seen on it in the day time, and at night there was no smoke nor fire.

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# REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

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## The Higgins Library: A Window on Agricultural Technology

D. KUNITZ AND H. FONTES, *of the Shields Library of the University of California at Davis.*

The Higgins Library of Agricultural Technology housed in the Shields Library on the Davis campus of the University of California contains approximately 300,000 items related to every phase of the history of agriculture and agricultural technology. This collection was purchased in 1959 by the university from the noted agricultural journalist F. Hal Higgins. Part of the funds for the initial purchase of the library were provided by the International Harvester Company, Deere and Company, and Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company.

Though the emphasis of the collection is worldwide, there is particular strength in material related to the United States and to California. Adequate material is presented to demonstrate the unique contribution California has made to agricultural technical advancement as well as to show the central role that agriculture has played in the West. And many subjects secondary to the history of agricultural technology are covered—business history, agricultural labor, civil engineering, Americana, Western history, agricultural customs.

The patron may work from the following definitive groupings of materials:

*Manufacturers' Catalogs.* Extensive files of company catalogs, manuals, parts books, and advertising items are available for agricultural machinery manufacturing companies in this country and abroad. Included are items representing companies that have either ceased to exist (Samson Iron Works, Yuba Manufacturing Company, John Lauson Tractor Company) or have merged with other companies (Holt Manufacturing Company, Oliver Corporation, Parlin and Orendorff Company). The National Agricultural Library, United States Department of Agriculture, has given to the Higgins collection its catalog grouping numbering nearly 12,000 items.

*Photographs.* The collection is particularly rich in photographs, photostats, and glass slides of antique and current models of agricultural machinery. There are 30,000 photo items covering the last sixty years of agrarian technical advancement.

*House Organs.* Complete and incomplete runs of house organs for many important American equipment manufacturing companies are included. *International Harvester World*, *The Furrow*, *Massey-Harris News*, *Allis-Chalmers Reporter*, *Case Eagle*, and *Caterpillar Magazine* are only examples.

*Patent Literature.* Patent literature from the British Patent Office and the U.S. Patent Office covering the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries is on hand.

*Agricultural Periodicals.* Available are such titles as the *Journal of the Agricultural Society of England*, *Farmer's Magazine*, *American Farmer*, *Prairie Farmer*, *American Journal of Agriculture*, *The Annual Register of Rural Affairs*, and *Farmer's Almanac*.

*Monographs.* Major technical authors such as Fred A. Crawshaw, J. Brownlee Davidson, Frank N. G. Kranick, Harry C. Ramsower, and Archie A. Wirt are represented in many early and rare imprints. The user is reminded that the Higgins Library strongly interrelates with the University of California at Davis library's outstanding agricultural collection.

In addition, the Higgins Library is particularly rich in promotional literature, special company reports, company correspondence, clippings, diaries, biographies, sketches, posters, calendars, working drawings, advertising materials, and personal papers.

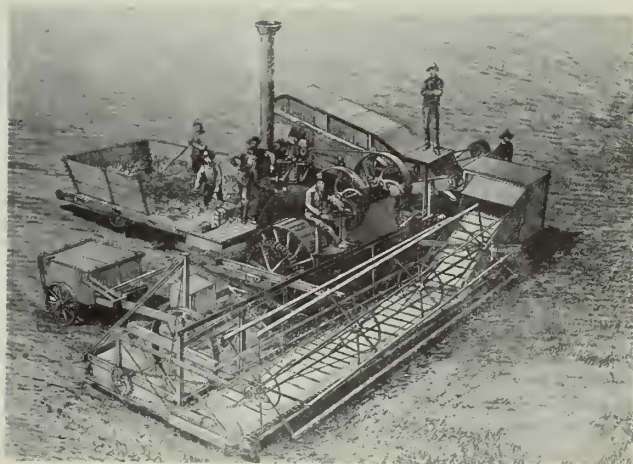
All these primary and secondary sources give the novice historian, the antique-tractor buff, the barbed-wire collector, the windmill technician, the old-engine fancier, and the scholar much evidence related to the "nuts and bolts" aspect of our agricultural heritage.

*This California farmer used a simple John Deere plow to turn his soil after his corn had been cut. The elaborate trappings on the horses are fly nets.*





*Shown in this 1886 lithograph is an ingenious self-propelled combine. The machine solved the fuel problem by pushing rather than pulling the combine, thus allowing its operators to feed the straw refuse from the grain into the firebox as fuel.*



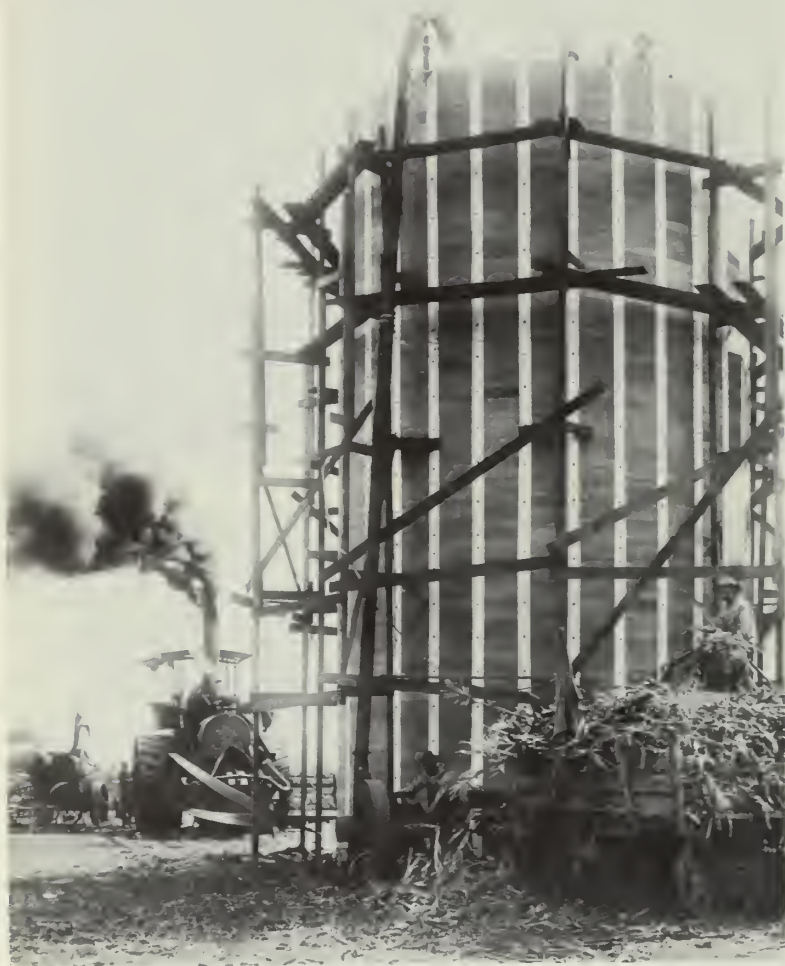


*At right is a special Holt Manufacturing Company unit built at Stockton, California, in 1903 with six extra wide wheels to prevent it from miring in the soft land of the delta. The overall width of the tractor was almost 46 feet.*

*The entire family cooperated in working this combine (below) drawn by over twenty horses across a California wheat field in the 1880's.*







*Parked behind the silo being filled with field-corn ensilage near Woodland, California, in 1918 is a popular steam tractor of the day.*

*In the late 1920's biplanes such as the one shown below being serviced seeded rice in the Central Valley.*





## California Check List

PETER EVANS, *CHS librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1972 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, be sure to give the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Peter A. Evans, Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free.

- Abbott, John W., ed. *Democracy in the Space Age; Regional Government Under a California State Plan*. San Francisco: California Tomorrow. 1973. 40 pp.
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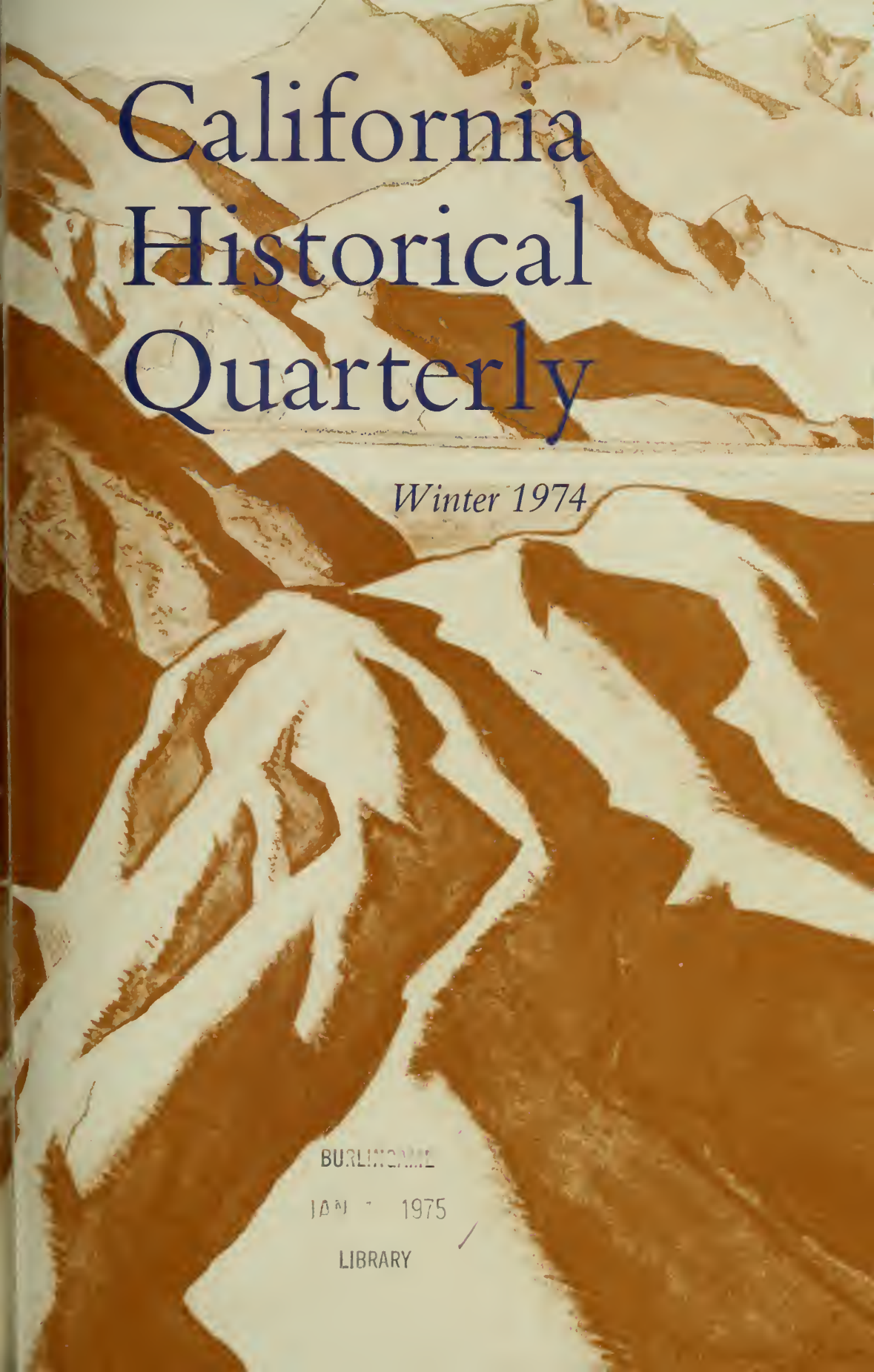
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COVER: Maynard Dixon, California's outstanding artist of the West, painted this view of Death Valley and the Panamint Mountains in 1943 as one of a series of works depicting the diversity of California's deserts. One hundred years after the artist's birth in Fresno, the *Quarterly* features a selection of his lesser-known works and an essay by the artist's wife, Edith Hamlin. The article begins on page 361.

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*This late-nineteenth-century forbidding, fog-enshrouded view by Eadweard Muybridge of the Southeast Farallon Island, some twenty-odd miles off the Golden Gate, belies the little-known fact that decades earlier Yankee sea captains seeking fur skins swarmed over the island and nearly decimated its large seal and sea-lion populations. "The Farallones and the Boston Men" begins on page 309.*

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*When photographed in the late nineteenth century by pioneer California photographer Carleton E. Watkins, the Southeast Farallon nurtured only a small remnant of its once teeming fur-seal and sea-lion population.*



# The Farallones and the Boston Men

ROBIN W. DOUGHTY

*Assistant professor of geography at the University of Texas at Austin,  
interested in the human impact on wildlife as a theme in historical ecology.*

THE DWELLERS in San Francisco, who, as they look upon the lonely, barren rocky islets which stand as sentinels just without their "Golden Gates," can hardly realize that very early in the present century such golden crops of furs were gathered there by 'Boston men.'<sup>1</sup>

When the days are clear of sea fog, usually in winter and early spring, a group of barren islands is visible on the western horizon from elevated areas of San Francisco and the Marin County coastline north of the city. Seven granite rocks guard the approach to San Francisco Bay, breasting the Pacific swells more than twenty miles from the Golden Gate. These are the Farallon Islands. "Los Farallones de los Frayles" (Headlands of the Friars) was the name reportedly given to them by Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra in 1775 in honor of the founders of Mission Dolores, whose site is in present-day San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> The current abbreviated and anglicized version of the name suggests the rugged character of the islands with their wave-cut benches, shoaled bays, and weathered cliffs and promontories.

From the mainland shore most inhabitants of the Bay Area have seen these isolated rocks, and thousands have fished for salmon close by their shores, but few have set foot on them. Only a handful of people have studied the islands' interesting, plentiful, and varied marine life. Today, however, the islands' cliffs, caves, and shallow-water environs boast only a remnant of the teeming wildlife they nurtured 150 years ago.

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, men quarrelled, fought, and even died on the Farallones for the right to harvest Murre eggs for the San Francisco market. Earlier, in the 1820's, Russian and Aleut sealers led solitary lives on this most southerly outpost of the Russian-American Fur Company, suffering disease and starvation while supplying Fort Ross with sea-lion meat, fur-seal hides, and the feathers and down of sea birds.<sup>3</sup>

Short accounts of the islands and their fauna by writers, naturalists, and scientists appeared in American popular and scientific periodicals as early as the 1850's, and ornithologists took especial delight in describing the myriads and swarms of sea fowl that populated "Bird City," the Southeast Farallon.<sup>4</sup>

Largest of the group, the southern-most island is actually two contiguous islands and small outliers which together measure almost a mile long and a half-

mile wide. About eight miles from the northern five islets, the Southeast Farallon offers the easiest landing place of the group, and, hence, it was occupied by Russian and American parties which, during the nineteenth century, systematically reduced its fur-seal, sea-lion, and sea-bird populations.

Long before Yankee sailors landed in the Farallones early in the last century and prior to the foundation of the Russian-American Company in 1797, the circumnavigator Drake glimpsed the Farallon Islands on his voyage through the North Pacific. In contrast with the mists of romance and mystery that enshroud the exact berth of the *Golden Hinde*, we know that on July 23, 1579, she sailed a course south-southwest from the mainland and discovered:

Not farre without this harborough did lye certain Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint James) hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which we fell July 24, whereon we found such prouision as might competently serue our turne for a while. We departed againe the day next following, viz, July 25.<sup>5</sup>

This abundance of wildlife noted by Drake probably remained undiminished until early in the nineteenth century when Yankee vessels under Russian contract plied the same waters for valuable sea-otter and fur-seal skins.

It is commonly believed that Russian occupation of the southeast island decimated its fur-seal population, and, clearly, the Russians made continuous and prolonged demands upon these animals. However, a long-ignored contemporary source indicates that prior to Russian settlement of the island, gangs put ashore by Yankee Boston ships had culled scores of thousands of fur-seal pelts for the Canton market. Indeed, within a few seasons Boston vessels made unprecedented inroads into seal numbers, incursions documented by a little-known and little-used narrative of the coastal activities of the two Winship brothers of Boston.

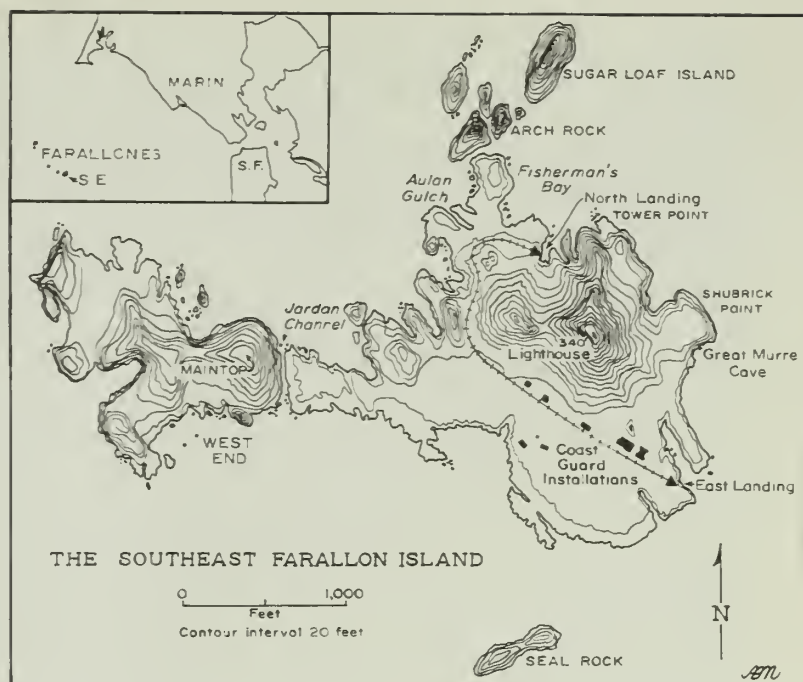
The voyages of Jonathan and Nathan Winship in the northwest Pacific in the early years of the nineteenth century are described in an undated manuscript in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, entitled *Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest*. Most likely the document was authored by one William Phelps sometime in the 1870's. As recounted by Phelps, the Winships and other Boston captains took large quantities of skins off the Farallones, and, for at least a two-year period, they stationed gangs on the southeast island, gangs that removed more than 80,000 valuable seal skins.

According to the document, on February 15, 1807, Jonathan Winship anchored his vessel, the *O'Cain*, off the Southeast Farallon so that he and his brother Nathan could take a good look at the island. On board his ship were fifty Kodiak hunters en route to rejoin gangs left on islands in southern waters the previous year.

Captain Jonathan Winship had sailed these same seas four years earlier. As part owner of the same vessel, he had accompanied his partner Joseph O'Cain to seek Russian help in hunting sea otters in Pacific coast waters. To the Yankee entrepreneurs, hunting otters directly appeared to be more profitable than bartering for them with the natives along the shores. On this early voyage the *O'Cain* took over 1,000 sea-otter pelts, sold its share in Canton, and returned to Boston in 1805.

Winship commanded the 280-ton vessel on her next voyage to the Northwest in the same year. This time his brother Nathan acted as mate; together they con-

Old Coast Guard installations still dot the Southeast Farallon, actually two contiguous islands and small outliers together measuring almost a mile long and a half-mile wide.



tracted with the Russians, and, in the summer of 1806, they landed over one hundred Aleut hunters on Southern California islands. The *O'Cain* returned northwards for reinforcements and in February, 1807, was bound southwards again when it stopped at the Southeast Farallon and put a boat ashore. As the Phelps manuscript recounted:

The officer, on his return, reported a vast number of fur and hair seal. This is the first account of any ship's crew landing on those Islands, of which we have heard.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently the Winships did not station any men on the island on that occasion, but instead pressed on and harvested an estimated \$136,000 worth of fur, mainly from Cedros, Natividad, and Guadalupe islands, and areas south of Point Conception.

In 1809, the brothers sailed separately. Jonathan left Boston in January in the *O'Cain*; Nathan took command of the *Albatross* in July and sailed directly to the Sandwich Islands. Almost a year later, in June, 1810, he made an abortive attempt to settle on the Columbia River and sailed from that estuary in company with the *Mercury* under Captain Eayrs. The *Albatross* then parted ways with the *Mercury*, which was bound for Sitka, and on July 30, 1810, Winship's vessel anchored off the Farallones. The manuscript reads:

July 30th, came to anchor near the South Farallones. Found on the islands two gangs of sealers, one belonging to the ship *Isabella*, Captain Davis, of Boston, and the other to the ship *Mercury*, before mentioned. A party of seven persons was left here in charge of Mr. Gale to take fur seal, and the *Albatross* continued on down the coast.<sup>7</sup>

Although not discovered by Winship until mid-1810, it is possible that the *Mercury*'s gang had been on the islands for some time. The ship's commander, Captain Eayrs, enjoyed cordial relations with Spanish authorities and missions and had been recorded to be in the vicinity as early as December, 1808. Eayrs



had previously obtained Russian help and Spanish tolerance in his search for fur on the West Coast and, indeed, he continued to be active there for some time.<sup>8</sup> One thing is clear from the activities of Winship's *Albatross*: from July 30, 1810, one or more sealing gangs occupied the Southeast Farallon.

Not to be outdone, Nathan Winship left his gang on the Farallones and moved into southern waters. On his return to the islands on December 4, 1810, he was pleased to find that 30,000 skins had been taken. According to the Phelps document, Winship "increased" the gang by six Sandwich Islanders, and "the ship bore away for St. Louis Obispo. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

Nathan in the *Albatross* briefly joined Jonathan Winship off the south coast, but on April 1, 1811, he sailed north again to check with his men on the Farallones. He discovered that:

the party left here previously had taken about four thousand fur seal, and had been over two months without provisions, except what the island afforded. The ship [took] off the skins, supplied the parties, and proceeded to Drake's Bay . . .<sup>10</sup>

Drakes Bay offered both sea room and relative seclusion from the eyes of the Spanish authorities and was used for about a month by the *O'Cain* and *Isabella*, both of which joined the *Albatross* on May 11, 1811. All three vessels stationed crews on the Farallones and set up a communications and supply system with Drakes Bay. (At this time Kuskov in the Russian ship *Chirikov* was at Bodega, but he had a party on the Farallones taking sea lions for meat prior to his departure for Sitka in late June or early July.)

Before sailing on to the Orient to sell the fruits of the expedition, the *Albatross* again anchored off the Farallones. She had collected crews on the islands further south and taken them north to Sitka, and now she picked up the Farallon seal skins before proceeding to Hawaii and the Far East.





*The west end of the Southeast Farallon (right), separated from the remainder of the island by a surge channel, was heavily collected-over by the Farallon Egg Company. An estimated ten million Murre (*Uria aalge*) eggs were removed from the Farallones during the second half of the nineteenth century by egg-pickers such as those photographed (above) c. 1881.*



**OPPOSITE:** Not yet uneasy with rampant depletion of wildlife, an 1856 periodical article spoofed the problems of hunting sea lions. At this time, as well, Murre eggs gathered daily from the islands served as staples in most Californians' diets.



September 27, 1811.—The ship anchored in ten fathoms under the lee of the South Farallone. The parties were all well, and had procured since the ship was last here (in December) 53,000 prime skins. They remained at anchor here until the 2nd of October. The skins were all taken on board, and all the people, except Mr. Brown, who, with seven Kanackers (or Sandwich Islanders) remained for a further hunt, and to be called for by the O'Cain.<sup>11</sup>

Phelps' narrative of the several years' voyages continued with the sailing westwards from Hawaii of all three vessels—the *Albatross*, *O'Cain* and *Isabella*. An agreement was reached there by the three to operate together, with sandalwood cargoes promising a good income. The *Albatross*, however, returned once more to California waters to take a party of sealers off the Farallones and to conclude any unfinished business on the coast. According to Phelps who quoted the *Albatross'* journal,

We anchored at the South Farallones the 15th of August, and took off the party with eight thousand prime fur seal skins, and all their effects.<sup>12</sup>

The journal reported, incidentally, that another Boston ship, the *Charon*, had a gang on the Farallones at that time.

Finally, in October, 1812, Nathan Winship put westwards from the Farallones, and the ship's journal ends with the note that both brothers returned to Boston in 1816 after an absence of some seven years and retired from the sea.

The above chronology is incomplete. From it, however, it is certain that at least five Boston vessels, the *O'Cain*, *Mercury*, *Albatross*, *Isabella*, and *Charon*, had crews on the Farallones between August, 1810, and September, 1812. These vessels were accompanied by Russian vessels including the *Chirikov* in pursuing and removing sea otters and fur seals on the California coast.

Sea otters, fur seals, Steller and California sea lions, and northern elephant seals are recorded in historical literature as once inhabiting the Farallon Islands. Only sea lions and elephant seals reside there presently, but Steller sea lions and elephant seals reportedly breed on the islands.<sup>13</sup>

Although fur seals were not separated by taxonomists into two species until 1897 (by C. Hart Merriam), historical data from the Farallon Islands suggest that it was the Guadalupe or southern species (*Arctocephalus townsendi*) that was once endemic to the islands: at least 30,000 fur seals were reportedly taken between August 1 and December 4, 1810, when the northern *Callorhinus* species is generally absent from California waters. In 1922 the periodical *California Fish & Game* concluded that "the seals that have been taken on our coast, when taken on land were the Guadalupe fur seal." In the case of the Farallones, the author Edwin C. Starks suggests that the beasts were clubbed to death while ashore.<sup>14</sup>

The author of the manuscript recording Winship's voyages reports precise numbers of fur seals taken by the *Albatross* alone from the Farallones during the 14-month period, July 30, 1810, to October 1, 1811: Gale and party took 33,740 pelts in 1810 and 21,153 in 1811; Brown and party, who probably landed December 4, 1810, took 18,509 pelts. The ship's total fur-seal catch amounted to 73,402 skins. The *Albatross* sailed to Hawaii loaded with 74,526 (73,402 from the Farallones) fur-seal skins, 631 sea-otter skins, and an assortment of beaver, mink, land otter, fox, and other mammal pelts worth over \$157,000 on the Canton market.<sup>15</sup>



A final paragraph in the *Solid Men of Boston* praising Yankee ingenuity proudly concluded that

judging from the number of parties known to have been left on these rocks or islands, within the last three years by Boston ships . . . it will be safe to state that 150,000 fur seal skins were taken from there during that time; a fact which contrasts Spanish indolence and imbecility with the activity and enterprise of 'Boston men.'<sup>16</sup>

Russian sealers neither approximated 150,000 fur seals during any similar time span nor did they accrue comparable numbers in their years of occupation, roughly coincident with their occupation of Fort Ross (1812-1841). It is evident that Boston men, not Russian and Aleut hunters who took less than 20,000 during their sojourn there, broke the back of the fur-seal population of the Farallon Islands.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, it remained for American fishermen to begin serious inroads into the sea-bird populations that were sharply reduced in over forty years of egg harvesting in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

THE PHOTO on page 306 is from the Muybridge photo album, volume 2, 16892-225, courtesy Bancroft Library; photos on page 313 (bottom) and 315, supplied by author; photos on pages 308 and 313 (top), courtesy CHS; cartoon on page 312 from *Hutchings California Magazine*, 1:5 (August, 1856).

*Increasing numbers of female and immature northern elephant seals (Mirounga angustirostris) are being observed on the southeast island. This sandy cove provides seclusion and is an easy hauling area. Exterminated as a breeding species last century, the elephant seal is expected to breed again on the Southeast Farallon.*



1. William D. Phelps (?), *Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest*, p. 58, Ms in The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, (187?).
  2. Allyn G. Smith, "These are the Farallons," in *Pacific Discovery*, 20:3-10, 5 (1967).
  3. See experiences of Tchitchinoff in the 1820's in *Adventures in California of Zakahar Tchitchinoff*, 1818-1828 (Los Angeles, 1956).
  4. Thousands of Murres are noted on the island in *Hutching's California Magazine* (1856), pp. 49-57, especially p. 54. Thirty years later sea birds swarmed as bees in the eyes of Walter E. Bryant, "Birds and Eggs from the Farallon Islands," *Proceedings of the California Academy of Science* (2nd series), 1:25-50 (January, 1888).
  5. Quote in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works* Vol. XVIII, *History of California*, 1:85 (San Francisco; 1884).
  6. Phelps, 21.
  7. Phelps, 52.
  8. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade 1784-1848*, University of California Publications, History (Berkeley, 1941), pp. 45-65 and Appendix, pp. 155-182. A footnote in Bancroft, *Works*, XIX, *History of California*, 11:95-96n, notes an indirect report of a visit by "old Captain Bully (Billy?) Smith . . . to the Farallones in 1808 with a party of Kodiaks." The captain "stayed there two years, and caught 130,000 seals besides many otter. He took them to China in the Albatross...."
  9. Phelps, 53.
  10. Phelps, 54.
  11. Phelps, 56-57.
  12. Phelps, 61-62, from the ship's journal.
  13. Joseph Grinnell, et al., *Fur-Bearing Mammals of California* (Berkeley, 1937), 1:289, states the southern sea otter was "particularly abundant about the Farallon Islands. . . ." See also Lloyd G. Inglis, *Mammals of the Pacific States*, 397, 399 (Palo Alto, 1965). However, Keith W. Radford, Robert I. Orr, and Carl L. Hubbs, "Reestablishment of the Northern Elephant Seal . . . off Central California," in *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences* (4th series), 31:610 (1965), do not report the elephant seal as breeding on the Farallones in 1961. One or more bulls from the Año Nuevo Island rookery in San Mateo County are believed responsible for one birth on the Southeast Farallon in 1972, two births in 1973, and seventeen births in 1974 (of which five pups survived). See Point Reyes Bird Observatory, *Newsletter* No. 29:1 (March, 1974).
  14. Edwin C. Starks, "Records of the Capture of Fur Seals on land in California," in *California Fish & Game*, 8:155-160, 159 (July, 1922). Grinnell, *Fur-Bearing Mammals of California*, 2:626-628, relies on C.H. Townsend, "The Fur Seal of the California Islands," in *Zoologica* 9:44-457 (1931), who cites Starks for identity and numbers on the Farallon Islands. See also California Department of Fish and Game, *At the Crossroads*, 1974, pp. 77-78 (Sacramento, 1974). Recent excavations on the southeast island have not, to date, conclusively proved that the species was *Arctocephalus* (Personal communication, Robert E. Jones, Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California, Berkeley, May, 1974).
- In regard to the method of taking fur seals, the customary, and present-day, method practiced with the fur seals of the northern species in Alaska is to hit the beast over the head and break the skull so that death is quick and the pelt remains unblemished. The seals are driven inland from the beach where they are surrounded and dispatched in this fashion. In recent years animal societies have called considerable attention to this method of killing as being inhumane and in need of improvement.
15. Phelps, 57-58.
  16. Phelps, 62.
  17. Adele Ogden, "Russian Sea-Otter and Seal Hunting on the California Coast, 1803-1841," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 12:217-39 (1933); E.O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 12:191-209.
  18. Robin W. Doughty, "San Francisco's Nineteenth-Century Egg Basket: The Farallons," in *Geographical Review*, 61:554-72 (1971). The Farallon Islands, excluding the Southeast Farallon, are in the process of being proclaimed a Wilderness Area by Congress, a measure which will prevent any construction on them. The southeast island, formerly housing a coast-guard installation, was reserved in 1969 as a National Wildlife Refuge.

# *Mendez v. Westminster:* Race, Nationality and Segregation in California Schools

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SEPARATION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN ON GROUNDS OF RACE and nationality in California is almost as old as public education itself. But on March 2, 1945, five Mexican-American fathers, Gonzalo Mendez, Thomas Estrada, William Guzman, Frank Palomino, and Lorenzo Ramirez, challenged the practice of school segregation in the Ninth Federal District Court in Los Angeles. They claimed that their children and 5,000 other children of "Mexican and Latin descent" were victims of unconstitutional discrimination by being forced to attend separate "Mexican" schools in the Westminster, Garden Grove, Santa Ana, and El Modeno school districts of Orange County. Judge Paul J. McCormick ruled in favor of Mendez and his co-plaintiffs on February 18, 1946, and more than a year later, on April 14, 1947, McCormick's ruling was upheld by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. On June 14 of the same year, Governor Earl Warren signed into law a repeal of the last remaining school segregation statutes in the California Education Code.

Thus did *de jure* school segregation, legally and administratively enforced separation of racial and national groups in the public education system, end in California. The *Mendez v. Westminster* case was not an isolated incident, but part of a continuing story of conflict over the role of minority groups in California public education. The case provides insight into the long history of school segregation in California and is an important chapter in the experience of Mexican and Mexican-American people in the United States. Judge McCormick's decision reflects significant social and intellectual movements of the 1930's and 1940's which produced a remarkable change in educational and judicial attitudes on matters of segregation and race. Finally, the *Mendez* case serves as a point of departure for understanding current controversies over busing and voluntary ethnic separation in the schools.

The origins of the *Mendez* decision go back at least ninety years. In 1855 the California legislature provided that the State School Fund be apportioned to counties on the basis of a census of *white* children, ages 4 to 18.<sup>1</sup> The implications



of the white-only census were clearly recognized by State School Superintendent Andrew J. Moulder. In 1859 Moulder told local educators that "had it been intended by the framers of the law that the children of inferior races be educated side by side with whites, it is manifest the census would have included children of all colors." Moulder warned that any attempt "to force African, Chinese and Diggers into one school . . . must result in the ruin of the schools. The great mass of our citizens will not associate in terms of equality with these inferior races; nor will they consent that their children should do so." However, Moulder did favor establishing separate public schools "for the benefit of the inferior races . . . providing the [white] citizens do not object."<sup>2</sup>

The legislature agreed, and in 1860 it specifically prohibited "colored children" from attending integrated schools but did allow districts to operate separate schools for blacks, Indians, and Asians. By 1866, the Civil War and Reconstruction controversies had raised questions about black civil rights, and local districts in California were required to establish separate schools if so requested by at least ten "colored" parents. Passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution raised further legal and moral issues, and in the 1870's, judicial and legal action established that Indian and black children had the right to attend "white" schools in communities which did not provide separate facilities. But for many years, Chinese were not allowed to attend any schools at all. San Francisco School Superintendent James Denman claimed that the task of educating Chinese was "almost hopeless," because "the prejudices of caste and religious idolatry are so indelibly stamped upon their character." Not until 1885, in a case brought by Chinese parents, did the courts require that Chinese be allowed to attend California public schools. San Francisco, along with other communities, then established separate Chinese educational facilities.<sup>3</sup> In 1906-1907 the city created a major diplomatic crisis when it attempted to force Japanese children to go to the "Chinese school." Only intervention by President Theodore Roosevelt and an agreement limiting further immigration of Japanese laborers persuaded San Francisco authorities to reverse their decision.<sup>4</sup>

Court action by black parents had established the right of black children to attend "mixed" schools as early as 1890, but in 1945 section 8003 of the Education Code still provided that districts "may establish separate schools for Indian children, excepting children who are wards of the United States Government and children of all other Indians who are descendants of the original American Indians of the United States, and for children of Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian parentage." Section 8004 required that "when separate schools were established . . . the Indian children or children of Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian parentage shall not be admitted to any other school."<sup>5</sup>

Ironically, the Code did not mention the group that was most commonly segregated by 1945: children of Mexican descent. The major migration of Mexicans to California began at the end of the nineteenth century, as southwestern railroads recruited Mexican labor for unskilled track work. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 created a large refugee population and increased the social mobility of Mexican peasants. In the United States, World War I created labor shortages, and restrictive legislation in the early 1920's reduced European immigration and banned further immigration from China and Japan. But the border with Mexico

was left relatively open, and hundreds of thousands of Mexicans took advantage of that fact. Mexicans not only continued their domination of track work on California railroads but by the middle twenties, comprised the bulk of the farm labor force in the Imperial and San Joaquin valleys and the "citrus belt" surrounding Los Angeles. By the end of that decade, they also were a significant part of Los Angeles' urban labor force. The United States Census recorded a tripling of California's Mexican and Mexican-American population during the twenties, from 121,000 to 368,000, but these figures probably under-state the actual growth. By 1930, people of Mexican descent were California's largest "minority group"—a status they have maintained to the present day.<sup>6</sup>

The first Mexicans to cross the border at the turn of the century were migrant men who returned home after a few months' work. But even before World War I, a growing percentage of the immigrants were coming to stay and bringing wives and children with them or raising families once they arrived. By the 1920's, a new population of Mexican and Mexican-American children was having a profound effect on California school enrollments. 65,527 pupils, nearly 10 per cent of the state's total public-school population, were of Mexican descent in 1927. More than 88 per cent of these Mexican and Mexican-American students lived in counties south of the Tehachapis, over 50 per cent in Los Angeles County alone. In Orange County, 2,869 public school children, about 17 per cent of total county school enrollment, were of Mexican descent in 1927. Most dramatically affected was Imperial County; more than 36 per cent of the school children were Mexicans or Mexican Americans by 1927.<sup>7</sup>

These increasing enrollments of Mexican children rapidly led to segregated schools. According to Grace Stanley, a California educator writing in 1920, "One of the first demands made from a community in which there is a large Mexican population is for a separate school. The reasons advanced for this demand are generally from a selfish viewpoint of the English-speaking public and are based largely on the theory that the Mexican is a menace to the health and morals of the rest of the community."<sup>8</sup> In the Imperial Valley, University of California economist Dr. Paul S. Taylor found some employers of Mexican labor opposed any education at all for their workers' children: "The schools teach Mexicans to look upon farm labor as menial," one grower claimed. "It [education] only makes them dissatisfied and teaches them to read the wrong kind of literature." However, Dr. Taylor found most Imperial Valley residents willing to support education for Mexican children, though in schools "segregated by a consciousness of racial difference."<sup>9</sup>

And so it went in town after Southern California town. The Ontario school superintendent recommended construction of a "Mexican school" in 1921; by 1928 enrollment in this school was so great that another "Mexican" facility had to be built.<sup>10</sup> One elementary school in Riverside had become predominantly Mexican as early as 1910, and in 1924 another "Mexican school" was built when Anglo parents "wished there might be segregation of the Mexican element now attending Liberty [School]."<sup>11</sup> The San Joaquin Valley town of Mendota built a new school in 1920, but Mexicans were prohibited from attending. They either went to the old facility or were bused to a "Mexican school" in another town.<sup>12</sup> The city of Santa Ana was divided into fourteen elementary school zones in 1920,



*While housing projects such as this unit built in Los Angeles in the early 1940's somewhat improved the living accommodations of low-income Mexican Americans, they also made possible de facto school segregation.*

and population patterns along with strategically placed boundary lines resulted in three of the zones becoming predominantly Mexican. In response to parental protests, the school board allowed non-Mexican children living in the three zones to transfer to other, "white" schools.<sup>13</sup> The Los Angeles school board also manipulated attendance zones to produce segregation. In 1933 a city school official admitted that "our educational theory does not make any racial distinction between Mexican and native white population. However, pressure from white residents of certain sections forced a modification of this principle to the extent that certain neighborhood schools have been placed to absorb the majority of the Mexican pupils of the district."<sup>14</sup>

The increasing segregation of Mexican school children was part of a more general pattern of social separation between Mexicans and Anglos in Southern California.<sup>15</sup> Segregation, sometimes *de jure*, sometimes *de facto*, of most public facilities including swimming pools, theaters, and restaurants became common during the 1920's. As late as 1947, Carey McWilliams claimed that "segregation is the rule wherever Mexicans reside in sizable colonies." It lasted "from cradle to grave."<sup>16</sup>

But professional educators were not always responding to popular pressure when they established "Mexican" schools. The bulk of professional opinion during the 1920's was on the side of segregation for educational reasons. Grace Stanley believed that Mexican children were happier in segregated schools. She described a "mixed" facility in San Bernardino where the Mexican and Mexican-American children appeared to be "dull, stupid and phlegmatic"; however, in the all-Mexican school, the children's faces "radiated joy, they had thrown off the repression that held them down when they were in school with the other children." Stanley believed that Mexican children needed a special curriculum to suit their special abilities. "They are primarily interested in action and emotion but grow listless under purely mental effort." In particular, they were not suited for courses emphasizing "book study and seat work."<sup>17</sup>

Many California educators of the 1920's were designing "Americanization" programs for Mexican students. These curricula aimed at achieving the assimilation of young Mexicans and Mexican Americans into "the American way of life." The students were taught English and forbidden the use of Spanish on school grounds. American values, sanitation practices, and work habits were stressed.<sup>18</sup> And educators argued that the process could best be accomplished in separate schools and classrooms. Such separation would allow for special training



of Mexican students without hindering the educational progress of Anglo children. Ontario Superintendent Merton E. Hill, writing of his "Americanization" program in 1928, claimed that "there should be developed wherever numbers shall warrant a segregation of pupils. . . . Pupils should not be put into Mexican classes because they are Mexican, they should be put there because they can profit most by instruction offered in such classes."<sup>19</sup>

The segregation arguments were further strengthened, at least implicitly, by findings of educational psychologists. During the 1920's, social scientists put great faith in I.Q. tests. According to William Sheldon of the University of Texas, the tests "enable us to compare accurately the ability of one child with another." Sheldon applied the Cole-Vincent and Stanford Binet tests to groups of "Mexican" and "American" students in Texas. He found that on the average the former had only 85 per cent of the I.Q. of the latter. Mexicans scored lower than "Americans," "English," "Hebrews," and "Chinese," but higher than "Indians," "Slavish," "Italians" and "Negroes."<sup>20</sup> Thomas Garth of the University of Denver gave the National Intelligence Test to over 1,000 Mexican and Mexican-American students in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. Garth discovered that the median I.Q. of those tested was 78.1. The Mexican child with the highest score (142), however, claimed to be a "Spanish American"; thus, Garth theorized, the child probably had more "white" blood than the others.<sup>21</sup>

Segregation of Mexican and Mexican-American students, then, was a product of community pressure, sanctioned by professional educators and supported by the studies of educational psychologists. By the mid-twenties the practice was well-entrenched in California. In 1928 sixty-four schools in eight southern California counties had from 90 to 100 per cent Mexican and Mexican-American enrollment.<sup>22</sup> Three years later a survey of school districts with substantial enrollments of students of Mexican descent found that more than 80 per cent practiced segregation. Where separate schools did not exist, separate "Americanization" classrooms often were maintained.<sup>23</sup> In Orange County, for example, over 4,000 students, a quarter of total school enrollment, were Mexicans or Mexican Americans in 1934. About 70 per cent of the Spanish-surnamed total attended the fifteen Orange County elementary schools which had 100 per cent Mexican enrollment. Forty per cent of all Mexican and Mexican-American students in the county lived in the four districts eventually affected by the *Mendez* case, and six of the fifteen all-Mexican schools were located in these districts (three in Santa Ana; one each in Westminster, El Modeno and Garden Grove).<sup>24</sup>

However, segregation of Mexican and Mexican-American school children in California was never monolithic. Some districts chose not to separate children of Mexican descent, perhaps because few such children were in the schools, or the methods of separation were too expensive and cumbersome. Even in segregated districts, it was common to allow a few Mexican children to attend "white" schools. Usually they were children of middle-class Mexican-American parents or descendants of old "Californio" families. In San Bernardino the criteria for choosing exceptions to the rule of segregation were "apparent prosperity, cleanliness, the aggressiveness of parents and the quota of Mexicans already in the mixed school."<sup>25</sup> Similar criteria existed in many communities including the Orange County districts affected by the *Mendez* case.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, segregation was never rigidly applied at the secondary level. According to accepted theory, once a Mexican child learned English and became "Americanized" in the elementary school, he could be integrated into a mixed high school.<sup>27</sup> Equally important was the fact that most rural California districts could afford only one secondary school. In fact, however, Mexican and Mexican-American students rarely stayed in the elementary grades long enough to reach high school. In 1926 more than 3,000 children of Mexican descent were enrolled in Imperial County elementary schools, over one-third of the total enrollment, but only fifty-one such children, 4 per cent of total enrollment, were in the high schools.<sup>28</sup> In 1930 nearly 10 per cent of Ontario elementary school children were Mexicans or Mexican Americans, but two years later, the Chaffey High School District (including Ontario) graduated two students of Mexican descent out of a total graduating class of 293. Some of this disparity might be explained by the relative youth of the Mexican population, but nine years later, Chaffey managed to produce only six Mexican and Mexican-American graduates out of a total of 370.<sup>29</sup> In Orange County only 165 of the county's 4,000 "Mexican" students were enrolled in high school in 1934. Seventy per cent of the county's students of Mexican descent in 1934 were classified as "retarded" in the sense that they were older than the normal student at their grade level. This rate of "retardation" increased with the numbers of years in school, so that by the time Mexicans and Mexican Americans reached the eighth grade, many already were sixteen years old, the age at which compulsory schooling ended in California.<sup>30</sup>

By the mid-1930's, segregation of Mexican students was coming under attack. The Depression spawned attempts at social and economic reform, and these in turn created a belief that poverty and social disadvantages were caused by environmental factors subject to human remedy. In such an intellectual climate, George I. Sanchez, the director of information and statistics for the New Mexico Department of Education, asserted that low I.Q. scores of Mexican-American students had to be understood in the context of the children's environment.<sup>31</sup> I.Q. scores have meaning, Sanchez claimed, "only to the extent that the past history of the child has been assayed by the test in equal manner, with equal justice, and in equal terms with the past histories of the children used as the criteria of the test." Otherwise, the results were absurd. Thomas Garth, for example, found that nearly half his Mexican sample had scored so low that they were not capable of performing the simplest tasks, yet hundreds of thousands of Mexican laborers were being recruited to work in the fields, railroads, and mines of the southwest. Sanchez argued that Garth's results were explained *not* by the inherent intellectual inferiority of Mexicans, but by "the dual system of education presented in 'Mexican' and 'white' schools, the family system of contract labor, social and economic discrimination, educational negligence on the part of local and state authorities, [and] 'homogenous grouping' to mask professional inefficiency. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

Few educators in the 1930's were willing to go as far as Sanchez, but at least some began to have doubts about segregation of Spanish-speaking students. Annie Reynolds, a researcher for the United States Office of Education, believed that "formerly persons writing on the subject showed considerable agreement in assigning a relatively low place to Spanish-speaking pupils along intelligence, achievement and school progress lines. This is not true at the present [1933]."

Reynolds claimed that scholars were suspending judgment "until much more information is available based on a far greater equalization of economic, social and educational opportunity than at present obtains."<sup>33</sup> California educator Simon Treff asserted that Mexican students in mixed schools seemed to be less "retarded" than those in segregated facilities, while Herschel T. Manuel of the University of Texas claimed that reading and arithmetic problems of Mexican-American children were caused primarily by poverty and bi-lingualism. By 1937, still another researcher, William A. Farmer of California, was calling for an end to "emotionalism" on the question of segregation of Mexican and Mexican-American students; what was needed was more research.<sup>34</sup>

The doubts expressed about segregation in the thirties evolved into new convictions during the forties. By the end of World War II, spokesmen for California's educational establishment were vigorously condemning school segregation. The war had identified racism with Hitler and the Axis powers, while equality and justice were said to be the principles of the Allied cause. The first United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945 focused attention on idealistic hopes for peace between nations and peoples. Along with these hopes, however, came fears of new ethnic conflict in California. Wartime labor shortages produced large increases in black and Mexican-American populations, and these increases were accompanied by new social tensions. In 1943 white servicemen rioted against young Mexican-American *pachucos* in Los Angeles, and violence broke out between black and white shipyard workers in Richmond. Further violence was predicted when "re-located" Japanese Americans returned to the state after the war. Thus, public officials and public agencies called for inter-ethnic cooperation and understanding to prevent further conflict.<sup>35</sup>

As if to illustrate both the hopes and fears of the post-war era, the California Elementary Schools' Principals Association entitled their 1945 yearbook *Education for Cultural Unity*. Helen Heffernan, chief of elementary education in the State Department of Education, and Coreen Seeds, principal of the University Elementary School at the University of California, Los Angeles, in their contribution to the yearbook, claimed that segregation had "almost completely misfired." "It represents a practice which schools must eliminate."<sup>36</sup> Dr. Martha Seeling, Butte County coordinator of curriculum, called on educators to do "the spadework toward lessening the hatred and prejudice in America by ceasing to segregate normal children in our schools." Hawaii and Russia already had eliminated racial prejudice, Seeling claimed; California could do not less. "The United Nations insist that they will bring liberation and equality to the beaten and downtrodden. What will happen to America?"<sup>37</sup>

Non-educators also attacked school segregation. During the twenties and thirties, leading books on Mexican Americans accepted or defended school segregation. But the writers of the post-war period severely condemned the practice. Ruth Tuck claimed that school segregation "untrains little citizens for democratic living," while Beatrice Griffith believed it intensified the "insecurity and sense of inferiority that comes in early childhood." According to John Burma, Spanish-speaking children in mixed classrooms "progress in the [English] language much faster" than those in segregated classes.<sup>38</sup>

But the integrationist educators and writers of the forties still shared a common



goal with their segregationist predecessors of the twenties and thirties; both groups looked upon assimilation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans into the "American way of life" as the ultimate goal. UCLA historian Flaud C. Wooton condemned segregation, but also criticized the "cultural pluralism" of the East Los Angeles *barrio* or San Francisco's Chinatown as "a source of competition, prejudice and even conflict."<sup>39</sup> While "Americanization" programs of the 1920's assumed that assimilation could best be achieved through separate classes in English, hygiene, and other fields, "inter-cultural" programs of the 1940's assumed the same ends could better be accomplished through integration. In 1946 the First Regional Conference for Education of Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest proclaimed that Mexican children learn English best when in constant contact with English-speaking peers.<sup>40</sup> What better way to assimilate the American language and culture than to play and study with American children? Reporting on the successful integration effort in Mendota in 1947, Dallas Johnson noted: "English was the rule of the day; the new athletic director enforced the rule on the playground." As Helen Heffernan and Coreen Seeds put it, "Assimilation is a long-term process, but it will be even slower if hindrances such as segregation for educational purposes persist."<sup>41</sup>

The new message sometimes had difficulty filtering down through the educational ranks. Ruth Tuck quoted one teacher as saying "I'd hate to count the number of master's theses that have been written in its [segregation's] defense, but behind all the qualifications and footnotes, you could be sure of one thing. The teachers who felt that way were concerned with their own status. They wanted to teach in the silkstocking districts themselves, not in Spanish town. . . ."<sup>42</sup> Beatrice Griffith told of a graduate student in education who sat through a seminar on the problems of Mexican Americans. "I've had a very entertaining experience," the prospective teacher said, "but as far as I am concerned they are still dirty, stupid and dumb."<sup>43</sup> But in spite of such discouraging tales, both Tuck and Griffith believed that educators' attitudes were changing for the better.

World War II also created new opposition to school segregation among Mexican and Mexican-American parents. As early as 1927, Paul S. Taylor noted such opposition in the Imperial Valley, but claimed it came solely from assimilated, middle-class parents.<sup>44</sup> University of Southern California psychologist Emory Bogardus reported the same phenomenon and believed that most Mexican Americans realized the "advantages" of separate schools. Nevertheless, parental action did lead State Attorney General U.S. Webb to rule in 1929 that segregation of Mexican children was not supported by California law. In 1931, a local court allowed seventy-five Mexican children in Lemon Grove to attend a "white" school. However, Webb's opinion was only advisory, and the Lemon Grove case had little statewide impact.<sup>45</sup> Middle-class Mexican-American resentment probably was quieted by the practice of allowing a few assimilated children to attend "white" schools, while lower class Mexicans and Mexican Americans were diverted by more serious problems. The Depression caused severe economic hardships, particularly when the farm labor market was flooded with "Okies" and "Arkies." Thousands of Mexicans returned to their native land, some of them the victims of forced "repatriations" managed by county relief agencies. Workers of Mexican descent carried out scores of major agricultural strikes during the

thirties, including a particularly bitter conflict at Garden Grove in 1936. But there were few short-term victories and no long-term successes.<sup>46</sup>

Not until the war years did Mexican and Mexican-American parents begin to enjoy relative prosperity and a degree of economic security. The distinguished war record of Mexican Americans created both a feeling of ethnic pride and a consciousness of inequitable treatment at home. A new generation of Mexican-American young people was coming of age and demanding equal rights and economic opportunities. New post-war Mexican-American organizations such as the G.I. Forum and the Community Service Organization and older groups such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) engaged in political activity and fought discrimination in the *barrios*.<sup>47</sup> In such an atmosphere, segregation of Mexican and Mexican-American school children came under increasing parental attack. "World War II stimulated Mexican Americans to demand change," California educator Thomas Carter has observed. They became "more aware of their rights and duties as American citizens [and] they demanded an end to separate schools. . . ."<sup>48</sup>

By 1945 protests against school segregation by Mexican-American parents had forced the Ontario school board to consider integrating the previously all-Mexican Grove School. Boards in Mendota, Riverside and San Bernardino faced similar protests.<sup>49</sup> In Westminster, Gonzalo Mendez and several other Mexican-American parents persuaded the board to propose a bond issue for the construction of a new, integrated school. But when voters turned down the bond, the board refused to take further action. William Guzman was one of several parents protesting segregation practices in Santa Ana. The parents asked that all children of Mexican descent who wished to transfer out of the "Mexican" schools be allowed to do so. The board not only refused this request, but it also cut back the small number of token transfers that it previously had granted.<sup>50</sup>

Mendez and Guzman were among the five plaintiffs in the *Mendez v. Westminster* case. They and their co-plaintiffs decided to take legal action only after receiving no remedy from their respective school boards. Although they brought the case as individuals with no organizational identification, apparently LULAC activists assisted in obtaining the services of David Marcus, a Los Angeles attorney who often had represented the Mexican consulates in Los Angeles and San Diego.<sup>51</sup> The defendant districts were represented by Orange County counsel, Joel Ogle.

Both attorneys agreed that all four districts in question maintained elementary schools with 100 per cent Mexican and Mexican-American enrollment. Garden Grove had one "Mexican" school and two "white" schools, and Westminster and El Modeno had one of each (in El Modeno the two schools were located only 120 yards apart). Santa Ana, by far the largest district affected by the case, assigned elementary school children by neighborhood, but Anglo children living in Mexican attendance areas were allowed to transfer to "white" schools. Thus, three of Santa Ana's fourteen elementary schools were 100 per cent Mexican. All four districts allowed token transfers of a few Mexicans and Mexican Americans to "white" schools.<sup>52</sup>

Marcus claimed that this situation constituted a violation of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment rights of his clients' children and of five thousand other children of "Mexican and Latin descent." He called on the court to declare

segregation of school children of Mexican descent in California a violation of the United States Constitution and asked that the districts in question be enjoined from further segregation practices and be required to pay the plaintiffs' court costs. Joel Ogle replied that federal courts had no jurisdiction in the case, since education was a matter governed by state law. Moreover, Ogle claimed that the districts were not segregating children on the arbitrary basis of race or nationality, but for the reasonable purpose of providing special instruction to students not fluent in English and not familiar with American values and customs. Finally, he pointed out that in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) the Supreme Court had allowed states to segregate races, providing that the separate facilities for each race were equal.<sup>53</sup>

Judge McCormick delivered his decision on February 18, 1946, nearly a year after arguments originally had been presented. He first dealt with the constitutional issues of jurisdiction and precedent. The key fact in both instances was that California's Education Code did not specifically provide for segregation of children of Mexican origin, only for Indian and Asian children. Since California law did not allow for separate "Mexican" schools, the requirement that children attend such schools could be considered arbitrary action taken without "due process of law." This, McCormick said, raised a Fourteenth Amendment issue and clearly established federal jurisdiction. Also, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* precedent with its "separate but equal" doctrine did not apply due to the fact that California laws did not provide for the establishment of "Mexican" schools. McCormick ruled that *Plessy* had dealt only with segregation imposed by state law, and such was not the case in the Orange County dispute.<sup>54</sup>

The central question, then, was whether the children were being forced to go to schools for the arbitrary reason of race or nationality, or for valid educational purposes. Here the judge entered the realm of educational and social theory, and, as might be expected, he adopted the ideas of the educators of the 1940's. McCormick admitted that "the only tenable ground upon which segregation practices in the defendant districts can be defended lies in the English language difficulties of the children. . . ."<sup>55</sup> But he doubted that such difficulties warranted separation until as late as the eighth grade; surely, children could become proficient in English before this. The judge also claimed that "evidence clearly shows that Spanish-speaking children are retarded in learning English by lack of exposure to its use by segregation. . . ." As to allegations that Mexican children were intellectually inferior to other children, McCormick pointed out that in El Modeno, seventh graders in the "Mexican" school outscored their contemporaries in the "white" school in standardized achievement tests. The judge thus concluded that the children were not being separated on valid educational grounds, but because of "the Latinized or Mexican name of the child."<sup>56</sup>

McCormick also sided with the post-war theorists who advocated assimilation through integration. "Co-mingling of the entire student body instills and develops a common cultural attitude among the school children which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals." Segregation, according to the judge, "fosters antagonisms in the children and suggests inferiority among them where none exists."<sup>57</sup> Not only on legal and constitutional grounds, then, but also on the grounds of educational and social theory, McCormick ruled in



favor of the plaintiffs and ordered the end of school segregation in the defendant districts.

*La Opinión*, a large Spanish-language daily newspaper published in Los Angeles, hailed McCormick's brief as a "brilliant judicial exposition." David Marcus called it "one of the greatest judicial decisions in favor of democratic practices granted since the emancipation of the slaves. . . ." <sup>58</sup> However, such exuberance was premature. The *Orange Daily News* reported that Joel Ogle was planning an appeal. After meeting with representatives of the four school boards, Ogle was ready to carry the case to the Supreme Court if necessary. <sup>59</sup>

On December 10, 1946, Ogle brought his appeal before the Ninth Federal District Court of Appeals in San Francisco. By now, the *Mendez* case was attracting nation-wide attention. The American Civil Liberties Union and National Lawyers Guild had filed *amicus curiae* briefs on the side of the plaintiffs during the original court proceedings. Now these organizations were joined by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Jewish Congress, and the Japanese American Citizens League, all filing briefs in support of McCormick's ruling. Even Robert Kenny, Attorney General of the State of California, intervened on behalf of Mendez and his companions. <sup>60</sup> New York *Times* correspondent Lawrence Davies reported that the proceedings were being "closely watched as a guinea pig case," for the ACLU and NAACP briefs asked the court to strike down the "separate but equal" doctrine itself. <sup>61</sup>

If reporters were looking for dramatic pronouncements, they were not disappointed by the arguments presented to the Court of Appeals. Ogle again denied that federal courts had jurisdiction in the case. And even if they did, he claimed, "segregation by itself is not a denial of equal protection of the laws." Marcus replied that "if we accept the premise laid down by the other side that a school board can do anything it desires and not be in violation of the Federal Constitution, a board can start segregation with children of Mexican descent, go on with Germans and other national origins and end by dividing with respect to religion, and we'll have the same situation we had in Germany." When Marcus explained that the Orange County districts segregated almost all children with Spanish sur-

*In response to dislocation  
and discrimination,  
Mexican-American  
youths formed strong  
organizations—often  
along school lines—  
for protection and  
social life.*



names, Judge William Denham asked what would happen to a person named O'Shaughnessy who was "five-sixths Spanish." Marcus assured the judge that young Mr. O'Shaughnessy would be segregated too, for the districts separated on the basis of appearance as well as family name.<sup>62</sup>

On April 14, 1947, the seven justices of the Court of Appeals unanimously upheld McCormick's decision. Judge Albert Lee Stevens' opinion stuck to narrow constitutional and legal issues. Again, the key fact was that California law did not specifically provide for segregation of Mexican school children; thus, McCormick was correct in the matter of jurisdiction and in finding that the segregation practices violated the Fourteenth Amendment. But Stevens adamantly refused to rule on the broader issues of "separate but equal": "We are not tempted by the siren who calls to us that the sometimes slow and tedious ways of democratic legislation is no longer respected in a progressive society."<sup>63</sup>

Stevens also chose not to venture very far into the realm of educational and social theory. But this caution was more than offset by the vigorous language of Judge Denham's concurring opinion. Denham believed that segregation in the Orange County districts created "inequality on its face." If the Orange County precedent had been allowed, "Hitler's anti-semitism . . . would have a long start in the country which gave its youth to aid in its destruction." Orange County educational officials should be liable for criminal indictment, Denham claimed, for they had "brazenly proclaimed their discriminatory violation of the state educational laws."<sup>64</sup>

*La Opinión* believed that the appellate decision was a blow to "those who believe in the anti-semitic theories of Adolph Hitler." The newspaper reported that the case had established that people of Latin descent "must be treated as the same race [as *norteamericanos*.]"<sup>65</sup> The *Santa Ana Register*, probably the most conservative newspaper in California, also approved of the appellate decision. The *Register* had long campaigned against compulsory public education and saw the *Mendez v. Westminster* case as one more piece of ammunition. According to the *Register*, Santa Ana school board members "disobey the moral laws they profess to teach and have to be stopped by policemen of the state." This was the result of the nature of the people who serve on school boards, they claimed: "Self-seekers who want power; who want to appear to be leaders; who are willing to violate their own oaths of office in order to let their will prevail." The *Register* believed that school segregation was "the natural result of compulsory education" and just one more reason why that latter practice should be abolished.<sup>66</sup>

There is no evidence of unfavorable press reaction to the *Mendez* decision on grounds that segregation should be continued. However, representatives of the ACLU and NAACP criticized the fact that the Court of Appeals did not strike down the "separate but equal" doctrine.<sup>67</sup> *Open Forum*, published by the Southern California branch of the ACLU, attacked Judge Stevens' opinion as "devoid of social imagination."<sup>68</sup> But, in fact, the *Mendez* decision did establish precedent for important cases in other states. In 1948 and 1950, federal district courts ruled that *de jure* segregation of Mexican-American school children was unconstitutional in Texas and Arizona respectively.<sup>69</sup> If *Mendez v. Westminster* could not be cited as direct precedent for the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, in which the Supreme Court did finally reverse the "separate but equal" doctrine,

much of the social and educational theory expressed by Judge McCormick anticipated Earl Warren's historic opinion in the *Brown* case.

The *Mendez* case also had repercussions in Sacramento. It focused attention on the issue of school segregation and on the California statutes still allowing such practices. In January, 1947, Assemblymen Anderson, Hawkins, Rosenthal and Bennet introduced legislation to repeal sections 8003 and 8004 of the Education Code, the remaining school segregation laws on the books. Opponents of the measure claimed that California had "a racial situation different from that of any other state," due to its large Asian population. However, the Anderson bill passed both the assembly and senate by large margins, and on June 14, 1947, Governor Earl Warren signed the repeal into law.<sup>70</sup>

About one year later, Mary Peters surveyed 100 southern and central California non-urban school districts to determine the effects of the *Mendez* decision. Seventy-eight per cent of the responding districts claimed that they formerly had maintained separate "Mexican" schools; however, only eighteen per cent admitted still having such schools.<sup>71</sup> In Orange County, school officials had decided further appeal of the *Mendez* case was pointless. Orange County's education commissioner ordered that there be "some Anglo and Mexican children in every class." In September, 1947, integrated schools opened in Westminster, Garden Grove, El Modeno, and Santa Ana, apparently with little trouble.<sup>72</sup>

School board members in Riverside were sufficiently impressed by McCormick's original 1946 decision to accede to demands of Mexican-American parents and integrate schools in the "Bell Town" section of the city. In 1948 Riverside closed an "all-white" school near another Mexican neighborhood, thus producing integration of another previously "Mexican" school.<sup>73</sup> The Ontario school board decided to integrate Grove School in 1946. During the summer of that year, Anglo parents obtained 1400 signatures on a petition asking the board to "rescind its action in rearranging school district boundaries." But the board held firm, and in September, Grove opened with 177 Mexican and 155 non-Mexican students. According to the new principal, once the Anglo parents realized the board's decision was final "they made up their minds to help in every way."<sup>74</sup> In Mendota, Superintendent Virgil Howard made a virtue of necessity. Vandalism required that a fence be built around Mendota's schools, and Howard pointed out that the district could save \$5,000, if only one, integrated school were fenced instead of two segregated facilities. The board agreed. As one board member put it, "democracy turns out to be cheaper. . . . The Mexican boys who've been breaking school windows on Saturday night were just getting even. . . . If the schools hadn't been separated in the first place, we probably wouldn't have needed a fence."<sup>75</sup>

It was in small communities such as Mendota that the *Mendez* decision had its most dramatic effect. The case applied only to *de jure* segregation, not to the "*de facto* segregation" that created separate schools in large urban districts such as Los Angeles. After 1947 California's Mexican and Mexican-American population grew rapidly and became increasingly urbanized. By 1960 more than 80 per cent of the state's 1.4 million "Spanish-surnamed" people lived in urban areas. Thus the number of "Spanish-surnamed" children attending *de facto* segregated schools steadily increased. A California State Department of Education survey in 1966



found that 57 per cent of such children attended "minority schools" (schools with a minority group enrollment percentage 15 points above the community average). The figure for black children was 85 per cent.<sup>76</sup> In 1972 UCLA historian and civil liberties activist John Caughey estimated that two-thirds of the students of Mexican descent in Los Angeles attended substantially segregated schools.<sup>77</sup> State-wide, more Mexican and Mexican-American children probably attended segregated schools in 1973 than did in 1947, *Mendez v. Westminster* notwithstanding.

But this is not to say that the *Mendez* decision was an insignificant event. It ended nearly a century of *de jure* school segregation in California and incorporated into law the integrationist and egalitarian morality that had developed during the 1930's and 1940's. However, neither *Mendez v. Westminster*, nor *Brown v. Board of Education*, nor even the idealistic educators of the 1940's had determined whether *de facto* segregation was, like *de jure* segregation, a violation of human and legal rights. And neither the courts nor the schools of the immediate post-war period had considered the possibility that some members of ethnic minorities might not accept the assimilationist assumptions on which the *Mendez* decision was made: that some victims of prejudice might call for separatism in education and society.

Gonzalo Mendez and his companions had raised legal and moral questions that the judges and educators of the 1940's were prepared to answer. Today's more difficult questions of *de facto* segregation and separatism have largely stumped the courts and schools, let alone the general public.<sup>78</sup> But without *Mendez v. Westminster*, the agonizing questions of the 1970's could not even have been asked. *Mendez* was part of a process which stripped away the formal structure of legalized segregation and exposed the underlying conditions of racism and reaction that divide the American people and plague their consciences.

THE PHOTOS are reproduced from *Survey Graphic*, August, 1943, pp. 316, 314.

#### NOTES

1. The 1855 law amended an 1851 statute which provided for a census of all children, ages 7-18. The State School Fund was created from revenue from the sale of certain public lands and from the proceeds of a small statewide property tax and 15 per cent of the state poll tax. William Warren Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California 1846-1936* (Berkeley, 1937), 98; Roy W. Cloud, *Education in California: Leaders, Organizations and Accomplishments of the First Hundred Years* (Stanford, 1952), 38, 44.

2. Ferrier, *Ninety Years*, 98.

3. *Ibid.*, 92, 103; Cloud, *Education*, 45, 71; Robert Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1971), 62-63, 175-176.

4. Cloud, *Education*, 136; David Brudnoy, "Race and the San Francisco School Board Incident: Contemporary Evaluations," Roger Olmsted and Charles Wollenberg eds., *Neither Separate Nor Equal: Race and Racism in California* (San Francisco, 1971), 75-92.

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6. Governor C. C. Young's Mexican Fact Finding Committee, *Mexicans in California* (San Francisco, 1930), 47; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York, 1946), 316.

7. C. C. Young's Committee, *Mexicans*, 53; Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, I (Berkeley, 1930), 265-284, 18.

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52. *Mendez v. Westminster*, 546, 550-551.
53. *Santa Ana Register*, March 3, 1945; *La Opinión* (Los Angeles), March 3, 1945; Fullerton *Daily News Tribune*, March 3, 1945.
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57. *Ibid.*
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60. *Westminster School District of Orange County et. al. v. Mendez et. al.*, *Federal Reporter 2nd Series*, v. 161, 774.
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# San Francisco's Fighting Jew

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THE JEWS OF SAN FRANCISCO from the days of the gold rush to the turn of the century included many who were to be regarded as illustrious and no small number of eccentrics. Among the illustrious was the California supreme court justice, Solomon Heydenfeldt; the grain king, Isaac Friedlander; the industrialist, Levi Strauss; and the banker, Isaias W. Hellman. The eccentrics would certainly include Michael Reese, the penny-pinching philanthropist; Emperor Joshua Abraham Norton, the kindest king who never reigned; Elias Abraham Rosenberg, sometime astrologer and advisor to King Kalakaua of Hawaii; and Isador Nathan Choynski, raconteur, antiquarian bookman, publisher, and acid-pen journalist of his own *Public Opinion*, the muck-raking gadfly of San Francisco life.

I. N. Choynski had a son called Joe. Joe was illustrious in an unusual field. That he succeeded in this field and was a Jew made many think of him as an eccentric. A look into Nat Fleisher's boxing record book shows:

Joe Choynski. Born, San Francisco, Cal., November 8, 1868. Nationality, Jewish-American. Height, 5 feet, 10¾ inches. Weight, 168 pounds. Began boxing as amateur in 1884. Won Pacific Coast Championship in 1887. Turned Professional in 1888.<sup>1</sup>

Boxing historian Robert A. Haldane observed that Joe Choynski was called "the greatest Jewish heavyweight of all times." Haldane supported this statement by virtue of the "fact that six of his opponents have been recognized as World's Champions: John L. Sullivan, Jim Corbett, Bob Fitzsimmons, Jim Jeffries, Marvin Hart, and Jack Johnson."<sup>2</sup> W. J. Doherty, the one-time middleweight champion of Africa and heavyweight champion of Australia, wrote that Joe Choynski was entitled to a place among the greatest pugilists of all time.

Fitzsimmons could not beat him; James J. Corbett failed to do it after forty rounds of battling. . . . Even Jim Jeffries, the unbeatable, had to be satisfied with a drawn decision after being in the ring twenty rounds with Choynski. And in 1901 that rising young Negro, Jack Johnson, even then a boxer of wondrous cleverness, encountered the middle-aged Choynski and was beaten.<sup>3</sup>

The comment of Jack Johnson's biographer that "Joe Choynski [was] known to an earlier age as the best heavyweight who never won the title" should perhaps stand in this age as well.<sup>4</sup>

It is a commonplace of popular Jewish history to assert that like the Greeks and Romans, the Jews were interested in a healthy mind, but unlike the Hellenes and their followers the Jews were not greatly concerned with the body. The Bible and the voluminous Rabbinic literature, however, are replete with evidence of a more than passing interest in physical development and athletic competition. During the Hellenistic period a gymnasium of the Greek type was established near the Temple site in Jerusalem. This activity and Jewish participation in "Olympic" events was viewed with horror by those Jews who saw the cult of the body as evidence of collaboration with the occupiers of Israel. In addition, time spent as participant or spectator was time withdrawn from study, and it was study which represented the emerging ideal of Jewish life. Hence, in the classical period and in the middle ages, Jewish athletic activity tended to be private and noncompetitive; exercise was recommended by various authorities including Maimonides for the maintenance of health.<sup>5</sup>

It was in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the Jew began to emerge as an athlete in the modern sense, and it was in the field of boxing that Jews were to achieve major recognition. This happened first in England and, from the end of the nineteenth century, in the United States. It was in England that Daniel Mendoza, the father of scientific boxing, achieved the championship in 1792. Although he lost his title to "Gentleman Jack" Jackson in 1795, Mendoza continued to fight for another decade and finally gave up the ring when at age fifty-seven, he failed in an attempt at a comeback! *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* lists the major Jewish pugilists who followed Mendoza, such as "Dutch Sam" Elias and Israel Belasco, and then offers the following comment:

[Joe] Choynski, with the exception of Mendoza, was the greatest of Jewish heavyweights even though he never won the heavyweight championship. Choynski started to fight in 1884, when John L. Sullivan was champion, and continued in the ring until 1904, when he hung up his gloves with a record of fifty victories against fifteen defeats.<sup>6</sup>

The English Jewish boxer came out of a social milieu colored by flagrant anti-Semitism, and some Jews countered this hostility blow for blow in street fighting. The social climate of England allowed a Jew to defend himself and respected the Jew who could do so successfully. A handful of Jews went from street fighting to the ring, achieving not only respect but upward economic mobility. "The willingness of the Jew to fight, coupled with his skill . . . must be accorded a measure of credit for enabling the Jew to establish himself as a member of the English community."<sup>7</sup> If the image of the Jew as fighter was to change the British stereotype of him, all the more did it change the self-image of English Jewry. In 1812 Pierce Egan, an English boxing writer, said: "The name of Mendoza has been resounded from one part of the kingdom to another . . . though not 'the Jew that Shakespeare drew' . . . [he] interested the Christian . . . in spite of his prejudices. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

In America, the quest for ethnic viability and economic mobility also led to the ring. In San Francisco in the 1880's rivalry was not unknown between boys of

San Francisco's Joe Choynski began boxing as an amateur in 1884 and turned professional in 1888. Although he never captured the heavyweight title, in his long career the clever pugilist fought six world champions: John L. Sullivan, Jim Corbett, Bob Fitzsimmons, Jim Jeffries, Marvin Hart, and Jack Johnson.



Irish and Jewish descent. One of those boys was Jim Corbett, another was Joe Choynski. Both had brothers who worked at city hall, each of whom claimed that his brother was the better fighter. That was enough to start a feud between Irish Jim and Jewish Joe.<sup>9</sup> The feud led to a series of fights beginning in the fall of 1884, of which more later.

Also on Joe's side was his father, the San Francisco correspondent for the leading national Jewish newspaper (the *American Israelite* of Cincinnati), who described his sons as "four great, big, stalwarts, who are *Turn Verein* fellows, and who are, I think, able to knock Sullivan out . . . in a single round."<sup>10</sup> In 1887, Isador N. Choynski wrote about Joe's fight with another Irish lad:

We are coming father Abraham! The boys of the Jewish persuasion are getting heavy on their muscle. Many of them are training to knock out J. L., and it may come to pass. It is almost an everyday occurrence to read in our papers that a disciple of Mendoza . . . has knocked out the best of sluggers, who point with pride to their ancestors. . . . This week a youngster, who calls himself J. B. Choynski, nineteen years old, native of this city, weighing a hundred and sixty pounds, fought for the championship and gold medal with one named [Joe] Connelly, and the lad with the Polish name knocked the well-knitted Irish lad of much experience, out in three rounds, and carried off the medal and the applause triumphantly. The Choynski is a candy-maker,<sup>11</sup> works every day and does not go into training; but has bones like unto Tubal Cain. I knew that boy's grandfather quite well—he is dead several years, but if the pious, learned grandfather could lift his head from the grave and look upon the arena where mostly the scum of society congregate, and behold his grandson slugging and sparring and fighting and dodging . . . he would hang his head and exclaim . . . What is this horrible show for?<sup>12</sup>



A few months later, Joe's journalist father reminded his readers that he had written about "a Jew-boy, a full fledged slugger whose name is Joe Boe Choynski, who won the champion belt and gold medal . . . for this coast." The readers were informed that the not-yet nineteen-year-old had fought four heavyweight amateur bouts in four months and that he had to defend his title at the Golden Gate Athletic Club with an old opponent.

. . . The young Jew got away with blacksmith [William] Keneally, who is thirty-two years of age, and has been a boxer of many years' standing. The Choynski boy fairly wiped the floor with the Irish gentleman, and finished him in four hard contested rounds. The Jews, who take little stock in slugging, are glad that there is one Maccabee among them, and that the Irish will no longer boast that there is not a Jew who can stand up to the racket and receive punishment according to the rules of Queensberry. Joe Boe is marching about town . . . with his diamond badge pinned to the lapel of his vest. . . .<sup>13</sup>

San Francisco was not unique in that its multi-ethnic neighborhoods produced rivalries, strengthened by prejudice, which gave rise to street fighters whose success resulted in their being invited to appear at organized amateur bouts. In San Francisco, as in London of the eighteenth century, Jews were free to enjoy what was somewhat facetiously called "muscular Judaism." In 1904, a Chicago Jewish newspaper delighted in the fact that a Berlin Jewish merchant named Jacobson had given a sound thrashing to a noble anti-Semite of that city. The editorial writer stressed the name Jacobson, finding it "quite as worthy of remembrance as that of Joe Choynski in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*." The analogy was made between the dangerous anti-Semitism of Berlin and the neighborhood conflicts of San Francisco. The editorial attributed some of Choynski's "prowess as a pugilist" to "Jew-baiting."

He had been teased and snubbed by his non-Jewish schoolmates until his pride resented it with good, hard fistic impressions upon his tormentors' physiognomies. . . . While, however, we may refer to these facts with undisguised satisfaction, we do not mean to propose pugilism as the most desirable means of subduing anti-Semitism. That were certainly a barbarous if not dangerous demonstration of homeopathy. But we do mean to imply that a little more serious consideration of . . . "Muscular Judaism," may often be a most effective antidote.<sup>14</sup>

Joe Choynski turned professional in 1888. On November 14 of that year a fight was arranged with George Bush at the Golden Gate Athletic Club on Stevenson Street, San Francisco. Bush was taller and "looked flabby, while Choynski's muscles stood out in bold relief." Joe floored Bush in the first round, and in the second round, "it was patent that Bush was a defeated man." The fight ended with a knockout near the end of that round.<sup>15</sup>

Another early professional bout, against Frank Glover of Chicago, was held at the California Athletic Club. A purse of \$1,000 was to go to the winner and \$250 to the loser. Joe trained at Dieves' Gym on San Leandro Road and weighed in at 163 pounds. His opponent was seven pounds heavier. The fight went fourteen rounds, with Glover knocked out after going down for the fifth time in succession. The account of the fight was headlined: "A game fight made by the Chicago stockyards man, but the candy-puller's reach was too long."<sup>16</sup> A St. Louis Jewish

newspaper noted that "brave Joe" won the purse "together with applause." The account continued:

I am sure . . . his parents felt bad at seeing him enter the ring, yet, when Joe is able to make a *mille* . . . at an honest and manly sport, they will be reconciled to the idea. . . . Joe has . . . acted very nobly toward his parents and his aged grandmother in Germany.<sup>17</sup>

A decade later, when Choynski fought Dick Moore in St. Louis and knocked him out in three rounds, the same Jewish newspaper in that city regarded it as "a questionable honor, indeed, which 'religious' Judaism will never claim, leaving that at the disposal of the radicals and the Zionists."<sup>18</sup>

One of the most celebrated boxing rivalries of all time, that between Choynski and Corbett, which began with the bantering of their respective brothers at San Francisco's City Hall, was to result in five bouts of which the latter three were professional. In his autobiography, James J. Corbett recalled his first two fights with Choynski. At their first meeting Jim Corbett viewed his opponent and saw "a magnificent looking fellow with a blonde head and great strength." The fight was brief: "We had only been fighting for a minute or two when I knocked him cold," Corbett said.<sup>19</sup>

It might well have been that Choynski and Corbett would never have traded punches again, but their brothers, Herbert Choynski and Frank Corbett, kept on feuding. Frank taunted Herbert over Joe's defeat and Herbert replied: "Even if Jim did lick him with the gloves, Joe can knock the 'daylights' out of him with bare fists."<sup>20</sup> A secret fight was arranged for a Sunday afternoon in a stone quarry just outside of San Francisco. Corbett's father heard of it and objected because he feared it would endanger his son's job at the Nevada Bank. Jim remembered telling his father: "If you feel that way . . . I'll go up to Choynski's house like a man and tell him I can't." The Irish lad went to the Choynski household on Golden Gate Avenue and there he met a third Choynski brother, "Chauncey."<sup>21</sup> When Jim asked to see Joe, "Chauncey" replied: "You wait until this afternoon, you'll see him then, all right. He'll knock you all over the lot."<sup>22</sup>

Young Corbett became angered, forgot his father's admonition, and dared Joe to come out. The challenge accepted, the fight took place on the sand hills outside of the city, and, while Corbett learned quickly that Choynski had improved through boxing lessons taken at the Golden Gate Club, Choynski finally lost. Corbett, still angry, took on one of Joe's brothers and had "the satisfaction of putting [him] out for the count." When Jim's father heard about the fight his concern vanished. He said: "You licked the *two* of them—the *two* Choynski boys? Aah! To hell with the bank!"<sup>23</sup>

Years later, after Corbett had been the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, he praised the man with whom he had had more contests than with anyone else.

Joe Choynski, in my estimation, [was] one of the gamest and best fighters that ever lived, though a little bit too light for the heavyweight class. He was really as good as most champions I have seen, and this statement covers a period of nearly fifty years.<sup>24</sup>

All of the three professional Corbett-Choynski fights occurred within a period of a month-and-a-half, during the summer of 1889. They took place at

Fairfax in Marin County, near Benicia in Solano County, and in San Francisco. The first bout, at Fairfax, was stopped after the fourth round by the local sheriff. The location of the fight had been kept secret, since it was illegal to stage fights to the finish outside of licensed clubs. Rumors of this fight were widely circulated, the press having built it up into a grudge match. It was known that the participants had chosen Decoration Day (May 30) as the time, a twenty-four-foot ring as the setting, a fight to the finish as the condition, and that considerable gambling money had been wagered. Despite all precautions to insure secrecy, Sheriff Healey had no trouble locating the event.<sup>25</sup> It appears that the sheriff was embarrassed by finding that the bout was still on when he arrived.

"Boys," he said, "I thought the fight would be over by this time. I'm sorry to stop it, and if you will go over into the next county I'll sit in; but I have to stop it now that I'm here."<sup>26</sup>

As far as it went, it was a good fight. As a well-known sports writer remembered it, the interrupted battle was "fiercely contested," but the fighters had not "decided anything, so about a week later the two fought again."<sup>27</sup> It was generally held that Corbett looked the stronger and the odds were raised against Choynski for the next fight, which was really the continuation of the four rounds at Fairfax.

When the fight was continued, effort was again made to avoid the possibility of police interference. The press noted that "the sporting fraternity was greatly excited . . . that Corbett and Choynski would finish their battle. . . ." It was falsely rumored that the fight would be held on the Farallones or Goat Islands, so that no "sheriff will be allowed an opportunity to spoil the fun."<sup>28</sup> Actually, the fight took place on a long grain barge anchored in the bay close to Benicia. The principals and the fans reached the barge by means of the tug, *Sea Queen*. There were about two hundred spectators, some of whom were on the barge and others who watched from adjacent vessels. People began to gather at 4:30 A.M. on June 5, 1889. Before the fight began

the referee [Patsy Hogan] announced that when the men clinched he would order them to break away and step back without striking, and if they did not do so he would call it a foul. This innovation . . . led to a most scientific stand-up fight. . . .<sup>29</sup>

Corbett wrote that he didn't anticipate that the fight on the barge was to be "the very toughest battle that I had ever fought or was to fight," and that he received more punishment than in all the "other battles put together" that made up his career.<sup>30</sup> It was a grueling, savage, and bloody piece of ring warfare. In an interview with boxing historian Nat Fleisher, Corbett said, "Before the battle was half over, some of the spectators were so sickened by the sight of the red carnage, that even hard-boiled ring fans looked away. . . ."<sup>31</sup>

At what proved to be the middle of the fight which ended in the twenty-seventh round, Corbett described himself as being so exhausted and having absorbed so much punishment, that he and his brother thought that he was "well on the way to defeat." Frank Corbett turned away from the ring and saw his brother Harry leaning over a gunwale crying into the water and sobbing, "I can't see Jim licked."<sup>32</sup>

Nat Fleisher recorded that Joe Choynski was really stronger physically and was able to hit harder, but that Corbett had the advantage of height and weight.



It was in the twenty-seventh round that Corbett, who was flailing wildly, let go a desperate left hook which crashed squarely on Choynski's jaw. Joe fell for the count. Corbett later told Fleisher that he was almost out on his feet at the time and was so dazed that he had to ask his second, Billy Delaney, what had happened. Delaney told Jim that he had knocked out Joe, which was how Corbett found out that he had won! Years later in an interview, Delaney said that this fight was unequalled for cleverness, endurance, and the gameness displayed.<sup>33</sup>

The two exhausted gladiators were carried to a tug which was to return them to San Francisco. Jim Corbett wrote in his autobiography that "as soon as I could get on my feet, I went to Choynski's cabin and shook his hand, turning the old feud into a friendship which has lasted ever since." A manifestation of that friendship came soon.

The following month, on July 15, 1889, Choynski and Corbett met in the ring for the fifth and last time. It was, however, the first time they had met without a grudge. The event was a four-round exhibition, billed as a benefit for Choynski. It was held at the Mechanics' Pavilion, before a crowd of 2,100 spectators, "including many ladies with their escorts." The social character of the evening was indicated by the presence of the Golden Gate Band, which "furnished an excellent programme of music." At the end of "four friendly rounds, which were loudly applauded," referee Patsy Hogan declared Corbett the winner of the event and Choynski the recipient of the benefit purse.<sup>34</sup> Despite their new-found friendship, once Corbett became the world heavyweight champion in 1892, he failed to give Choynski an opportunity to contest him for the title.

In 1890 and 1891, Joe Choynski had a number of bouts on the West Coast and then fought five times in Australia, at Sydney and Melbourne. In Australia, he only lost to Joe Goddard, the Australian heavyweight champion. Commenting on the Goddard-Choynski contests (they fought twice), the one-time Australian champion, W. J. Doherty, said:

One punch of Choynski's stands out in my memory . . . it was a masterpiece delivered by a master . . . straight as a sword-thrust, perfectly timed, perfectly placed, with all the speed and power and weight behind it that a trained and skilled athlete could command. And just as though he had been struck by lightning, Joe Goddard crashed to the boards and lay still. . . . by all the rules and traditions . . . such a punch should have kept the strongest man down and out for keeps.<sup>35</sup>

At the end of 1891, Choynski sparred with John L. Sullivan, world heavyweight champion, in a three-round exhibition in San Francisco. Only three days previously, Joe had KO'ed Bill Woods of Denver in a thirty-four rounder!

The year 1892 was Choynski's most active in the ring. He fought across the United States and in England, winning all twelve of his fights, eight of them by knockouts.

In the summer of 1894, Choynski met Bob Fitzsimmons in Boston, for a five-round Bunker Hill Day exhibition. Joe floored Fitzsimmons and took the popular decision, though it was a no-decision fight. It will be remembered that three years later, Fitzsimmons won the championship by defeating Corbett at Carson City, Nevada.

In 1897, when Fitzsimmons won the crown, Choynski met another future

champion, Jim Jeffries, in San Francisco. Joe weighed in at 167 pounds, Jeffries at 219. Jeffries described the fight later.

Choynski rushed out and we went at it hammer and tongs, with the crowd going wild. He fought so fast he was all over me. . . . He convinced me that he was not only the cleverest boxer I had ever seen but also a terrific hitter. He fought so fast I could not use what skill I had to best advantage, and was taking a wonderful boxing lesson every minute. . . . he hit me so hard he broke my nose and wedged my lip between my teeth. He drove my head so far back I thought my neck stretched a foot. . . . During the remainder of the fight I knocked Choynski down three times but at the end of the battle [Referee] Graney called it a draw. . . . I had no regrets. I had taken a boxing lesson from a master and an artist. . . .<sup>36</sup>

In the next several years, Choynski met many able opponents and knocked out or decided most of them. Then, Choynski was contacted for a fight with the still-unknown Jack Johnson on February 25, 1901, at Galveston, Texas.

Galveston was Johnson's home town. Local promoters wanted a major adversary for him so that he might demonstrate the talent that would lead him to be considered a major contender. Sports historian Denzil Batchelor, who wrote the life story of Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight champion of the world, recorded how important the Choynski fight was for the man who would hold the title from 1910 when he defeated Jim Jeffries, until 1915, when he lost it to Jess Willard.

[Jack Johnson] the coming man was meeting a fighter with an historic reputation. . . . Moreover, Choynski was not by any means on the slide. . . . The bout with Choynski in Galveston was certainly the first big chance in Johnson's life. If he won it, the way lay open to the top of the tree; if only he could persuade Jeffries or Corbett to withdraw the color bar and meet him on level terms.<sup>37</sup>

Joe came with experience, and the fight showed that all of Johnson's strength and promise could not overcome it. In the third round, Choynski landed a left hook to the temple and Jack Johnson crashed to the floor. It was a knockout and was one of the few times that Johnson lost that way. In later years Johnson said that it "was the hardest punch" he had ever received in his fistic career.<sup>38</sup>

As the fight came to an end, five tall Texas Rangers, wearing ten-gallon hats and holding drawn guns leaped into the ring and announced that the governor of Texas had ordered the arrest of the principals. A cheering crowd accompanied the boxers to the local jail where they spent twenty-eight days before charges were dropped. It was a big news story. "The world noticed him [Jack Johnson] for the first time. . . . In prison with Joe Choynski—that was a real achievement!"<sup>39</sup> According to some boxing experts, it was during the twenty-eight days in the Galveston lock-up, that "Choynski taught Johnson the finer points of the manly art."<sup>40</sup>

Joe's ring career ended in 1904 after seventy-seven bouts. He won fifty times, half of those by knockouts, drew six times, and lost fourteen times; the remaining seven fights were no-decision or exhibition matches. Choynski was one of the greatest scientific fighters of all time. After he defeated Peter Maher in Chicago, on February 16, 1900, a special dispatch to San Francisco observed that he had fought the battle as he had mapped it out and emerged as the winner, without a

scratch.<sup>41</sup> Reverting to the language of the ethnic rivalry of Irish and Jew in San Francisco, G. A. Danziger, the West Coast correspondent for the *Jewish Voice* of St. Louis, called Choynski a scientific boxer as opposed to his Irish rivals: "Limerick has brute force, while Jerusalem has science. Paddy loses and Joseph wins. I wish it were ever thus."<sup>42</sup> The *New York Times* noted that Choynski was "in no sense a killer, but a forerunner of the type of fighter who learned early the value of science over brute strength."<sup>43</sup>

Joe Choynski's skill became legendary. It was Battling Nelson, who had been lightweight champion of the world, who told a typical story about this skill. According to Nelson,

He had a wicked habit of placing his fingers on an opponent's breast while in the clinches of a fight as if to talk to him. With the tips of his fingers touching the other fellow's right nipple, he would say, "Now, old fellow, you want to be good." Then before a word could be said in reply, by the mere movement of the wrist, he would plunge the heel of his left hand into the man's liver. When the man doubled up from the unexpected pain, Joe would whang him in the jaw and the fight would be over. . . . I saw Choynski do this a couple of times and I began to study anatomy.<sup>44</sup>

Although Corbett is credited with developing the left hook, he admitted that it should have been called "The Choynski." "But I guess I was still mad at Joe, so it got called the left hook . . . the first new blow in pugilism since pugilism was young."<sup>45</sup>

The great chronicler of Broadway and the world of sports, Damon Runyon, wrote a column at Joe's passing in 1943. Runyon was upset that Choynski's death had occasioned the comment that he was "the greatest hitter for a little man that boxing had ever known." Runyon favored Henry Armstrong for that role. Armstrong was a featherweight, while Joe was little, as heavyweights go, before there was a light heavyweight class. Nonetheless, Damon Runyon said:

I did not see Choynski fight, though on the testimony of those who did, I am willing to agree that he was good, this eye-witness testimony being the only kind I accept about the fight game.<sup>46</sup>

Runyon may have misread an obituary article by Howard W. Smith in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in which the writer said:

Old-timers claim that Joe Choynski was the sharpest hitter of all time. Not the hardest, understand, for Joe was little more than a middleweight. But he could put every ounce of his 172 pounds behind a precision punch that had been prepared through rounds of maneuvering his opponent.<sup>47</sup>

Joe Choynski was not a brutal fighter. He achieved his knockouts by skill and science. Brutality was against his nature; science was consistent with his character and background. Mrs. Mortimer Fleishhacker, Jr., daughter of Joe's oldest brother Herbert, knew Joe as a child and remembered the family tradition as well as her own impression that he was "a soft, sweet, lovable man." She observed that the family thought it unusual for a man with such a personality to have been a boxer.<sup>48</sup> The only survivor from Joe's generation in the family, a sister-in-law, Mrs. Edwin Coc, described him fondly as a "kindly, soft-hearted, truly great personality whom everyone called a marvelous man." She remembered his "tall,



handsome slenderness and his compassionate blue eyes."<sup>49</sup> He retained his handsome appearance throughout the twenty years of his boxing career and in fact, it was noted that "he never wore a bandage and, strange as it may seem, never injured his hands."<sup>50</sup> Joe once recounted to friends, "I used to stick my fists into a pickling vat, maybe for hours, just to toughen 'em up." The press called his hands "vinegar-hardened."<sup>51</sup>

"Soft-spoken and scholarly,"<sup>52</sup> Choynski's accomplishments were not limited to the ring. As the San Francisco *Examiner* observed:

Unlike many of the bruisers of the era when two-ounce and skin tight gloves were used . . . Choynski was highly intelligent and well read in the classics, and often in his correspondence referred to some quotation to make a point.<sup>53</sup>

Not only was Joe a reader and a truly literate person, he was also known as a collector of antiques who "possessed some exceptionally valuable ivory."<sup>54</sup> Choynski was interested in music and one of his old fight friends humorously recalled "hearing battling Joe . . . play a waterlogged piano."<sup>55</sup>

When in 1903 Choynski was asked the secret of his ring longevity, he said that he always lived the good life. It was important to him to retire early each night. He said that he never drank a drop of intoxicating liquor during his fistic career. He stressed that he did not chew or smoke tobacco and had not been sick an hour during his fighting years. "That's the secret of my success."<sup>56</sup> Tim McGrath, an old-time sports figure, agreed that "Joe was a teetotaler," but he was so anxious to best the Australian Goddard, that he "consented to try ale and stout as a body builder," to no avail.<sup>57</sup>

Choynski would walk the extra mile for a friend, and his friends remembered him. John L. Sullivan visited San Francisco in 1891 with his play, "Honest Hearts and Willing Hands." The production was a flop. In order to help Sullivan out of hock, Joe agreed to the exhibition fight in which he sparred with the champ.<sup>58</sup> Joe's ring friendships lasted. Whenever Corbett was in Pittsburgh where Choyn-

*Choynski opponents (below) included Jim Jeffries (left), who in 1897 had to be satisfied with a drawn decision after 20 rounds, and young Jack Johnson (right), who was beaten by the middle-aged Choynski in 1901 and spent 28 days with Choynski in jail when the fight was broken up by Texas Rangers.*



ski lived for some years, they met to reminisce and dine together.<sup>59</sup> The *San Francisco Examiner* morgue has an unidentified clipping headlined, "Chinese Remembers Choynski in Will." The text tells that Choynski was notified in Pittsburgh that he had been "left a legacy of \$10,000 in the will of Jim Pon, a Chinese whom the boxer befriended years ago."

Most of the Choynski family memorabilia were lost in the San Francisco earthquake-fire of 1906. The bulk of the surviving material of this important California Jewish family is to be found in the journalistic sports reports and in the voluminous newspaper writings of Joe's father, Isador Nathan Choynski, in such organs as the *Weekly Gleaner* and the *Jewish Times* of San Francisco, the *American Israelite* of Cincinnati, and his own newspaper, *Public Opinion*, a journal of general circulation.<sup>60</sup>

Clearly, the Choynski household was highly literate and politically oriented. Joe's father was one of the founders and leaders of the Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association, established in the 1850s in San Francisco. His leadership, atypically, was a product of his intellectual brilliance, rather than the result of economic success. The highest office in the community structure of the Jewry of the western states was the presidency of District Grand Lodge No. 4, Independent Order of B'nai B'rith. Though B'nai B'rith traditionally had German Jewish leadership, and I. N. Choynski was a Polish Jew, he held the District Grand Lodge presidency in 1874 and was re-elected for 1875.<sup>61</sup> Joe's father also had been an editor for the *Alta California* and a reporter for the *Evening Post*; he was known in literary circles for his Antiquarian Bookstore and press. His brother, Joe's uncle Isaiah, was a well known writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and had been a reporter for the *Examiner* of that city.<sup>62</sup>

When Lincoln first ran for the presidency, Isador Choynski stumped the state for him and was rewarded with an appointment as federal customs collector for San Francisco. His early muckraking approach to politics is indicated by a series of speeches he gave on the West Coast in the late 1850's.<sup>63</sup> His *Public Opinion* was highly political as were his columns for the ethnic press.

Joe's mother was the former Harriet Ashim, who had been a pupil in the 1850's of Rabbi Julius Eckman, of San Francisco. Her father was Jewish, her mother a convert to Judaism. At her marriage to Isador N. Choynski on March 20, 1862, Rabbi Eckman wrote in his newspaper, the *Weekly Gleaner*, that

Mrs. I. N. Choynski, is the only pupil that is connected with our religious school, from its opening in July, 1854, to this day: first as a pupil and afterwards as a faithful, untiring teacher.<sup>64</sup>

Mrs. Choynski never quite accepted her son's role as a fighter. "Before a fight his mother became upset, behaving like a crazy woman, but the rest of the family overrode her objections."<sup>65</sup> Joe was sensitive to his mother's concern. After the 1889 fight with Frank Glover, Joe's brother Edwin related that Joe came home and laid the prize money on the table, a considerable sum.

Surprised, my mother excitedly asked, "Where did you get that, Joe?" "The fellow I was training won, Ma, and I'm taking care of his money." It wasn't until the next day when the papers carried stories of a young boy, who as a substitute, triumphed over a seasoned veteran, that Choynski's mother learned it was her son who was the hero of the hour.<sup>66</sup>

The five children of Isador and Harriet Choynski, in the order of their birth, were: Herbert, a leading San Francisco attorney; Miriam, who did not marry; Joe; Morris, later a theater owner in Chicago; and Edwin, a prominent San Francisco stockbroker.<sup>67</sup> The Choynskis were members of Congregation Sherith Israel.<sup>68</sup>

Joe's wife, Louise, was a member of a non-Jewish Cincinnati family. She had been an actress and later joined her husband in personal appearances on the stage. Joe and Louise lived at various times in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and in Cincinnati, where he retired. The couple had no children. When Joe died on January 25, 1943, his wife survived him as did his brothers Morris and Edwin and his sister Miriam.<sup>69</sup>

In later years Joe went back to school and was graduated as a chiropractor in Chicago. On a visit to San Francisco he was interviewed and described as having a successful practice in Pittsburgh, where for some years he had been physical director of the Pittsburgh Athletic Club.<sup>70</sup> In a 1923 visit to his home town, he made an appearance at the Olympic Club. There he put on the gloves, working out with a young boxer, and he was a very trim figure at the age of fifty-five.<sup>71</sup> When he was seventy years of age, he was still "lightning fast," as he trained young fighters at the Athletic Club in Cincinnati.<sup>72</sup> Toward the end of his life, Choynski was engaged as "a film consultant for the Hollywood version of the life story of his boyhood rival, Jim Corbett."<sup>73</sup>

Joe Choynski's career offered the first major opportunity for the stereotype of the Jew to be extended from the world of trade to the world of sports, from storekeeper to athlete. When the image of the Jew was broadened by activities so typically American as athletics, the Jewish presence in America was further naturalized. Out of the ethnic conflicts of cosmopolitan San Francisco, Joe Choynski emerged as a symbol of how American a Jew might be, given a new frontier upon which to plant an ancient culture. Joe Choynski was a great fighter, a great Californian, and the first international sports figure to come from American Jewry. He was a champion, though he never held the title.

THE PHOTO on page 335 is reproduced from Edwards, *Portrait Gallery of Prominent Pugilists in England, America, and Australia* (1894); photo on page 342 from the CHS collection.

#### NOTES

1. Nat Fleisher, *The Ring Record Book and Boxing Encyclopedia*, 381 (New York, 1958). The Choynski family lived at 1209 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, in 1884. For assistance in research, the writers wish to express their appreciation to Donald Canter of the *San Francisco Examiner*, Reva Clar, Esther and Goodwin Goldfaden, Harvey Horowitz, Allyn B. Newman, Doris Roach, Willrich Schroeder, Jerry Spiegel, Bernard Turk, and the United Savings Helms Athletic Foundation.

2. Robert A. Haldane, *Giants of the Ring: Story of the Heavyweights for Two Hundred Years*, 81 (London, 1948).

3. W. J. Doherty, *In the Days of the Giants: Memories of A Champion of the Prize-Ring*, 80 (Sydney, 1931).

4. Denzil Batchelor, *Jack Johnson and His Times*, 27 (London, 1956).

5. For a variety of modern Jewish views of boxing, predominantly negative, see Harold R. Barnes, "The Immorality of Boxing," *American Judaism*, Winter, 1959; Bernard S. Raskas, "A Jewish View of Boxing," *The Reconstructionist*, March 5, 1965; W. Gunther Plaut, *National Jewish*



*Post and Opinion* (Indianapolis), April 19, 1963; Abraham R. Besdin, "Is Boxing Moral?" *To Our Colleagues*, Summer, 1972.

6. *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, Volume I, pp. 584-585 (New York, 1939).
7. Bernard Postal, Jessie Silver, Roy Silver, *Encyclopedia of Jews in Sports*, 137 (New York, 1965).
8. Postal, *et al.*, *Encyclopedia*, 137, quoting Pierce Egan, *Boxiana* (London, 1812).
9. Harry Simonhoff, *Saga of American Jewry 1865-1914*, 251 (New York, 1959). The two brothers were Herbert Choynski and Frank Corbett.
10. *American Israelite* (Cincinnati), June 30, 1885, p. 5.
11. He was employed as a candy-maker by George F. Roberts and Company.
12. *American Israelite*, September 23, 1887, p. 9.
13. *American Israelite*, December 16, 1887, p. 9. See also *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), November 30, 1887, p. 8.
14. *The Jewish Conservator* (Chicago), November 18, 1904, p. 2; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Volume IV, p. 47 (New York, 1904).
15. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 15, 1888, p. 8; *Daily Alta California*, November 15, 1888, p. 1.
16. *Daily Alta California*, February 27, 1889, p. 8.
17. *Jewish Voice* (St. Louis), March 22, 1889, p. 5.
18. *Jewish Voice*, October 27, 1889, p. 4.
19. James J. Corbett, *The Roar of the Crowd: The True Tale of the Rise and Fall of a Champion*, 38 (Garden City, 1926).
20. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 39.
21. The nickname "Chauncey" was a corruption of Choynski. Joe's brother, Morris, bore that nickname. Interview with Mrs. Edwin (Florence) Coe, May 15, 1972. Mrs. Coe, of Atherton, California, is the widow of Edwin, Joe's youngest brother.
22. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 39-40.
23. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 40-41.
24. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 38.
25. *Daily Alta California*, May 31, 1889, p. 4.
26. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 70.
27. Wilfred Diamond, *Kings of the Ring*, 28 (Kingswood, Surrey, 1913).
28. *Daily Alta California*, June 5, 1889, p. 8.
29. William Hogan and William German, eds., *The San Francisco Chronicle Reader*, 70-72 (New York, 1962), quoted from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 6, 1889.
30. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 75.
31. Nat Fleisher, *Gentleman Jim: The Story of James J. Corbett*, quoted in Harold U. Ribalow, *The Jew in American Sports*, 150-151 (New York, 1959).
32. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 80-81.
33. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 86-88; Fleisher, in Ribalow, *Jew in American Sports*, 150-151. When Joe took the left hook he fell back and hit his head against an iron ring post. Dazed, he was judged unable to continue, and Corbett was credited with a knockout. *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1943, Part I, p. 17.
34. *Daily Alta California*, July 16, 1889, p. 8.
35. Doherty, *Days of the Giants*, 81-82.
36. Hugh Fullerton, *Two Fisted Jeff*, 78-81 (Chicago, 1929).
37. Batchelor, *Jack Johnson*, 29.
38. Batchelor, *Jack Johnson*, 29.
39. Batchelor, *Jack Johnson*, 30.
40. Postal, *et al.*, *Encyclopedia*, 151; *Call-Bulletin*, January 26, 1943, p. 11.
41. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1900, p. 4.
42. As quoted by Rudolf Glanz, *Jew and Irish: Historic Group Relations and Immigration*, 102 (New York, 1966).
43. *New York Times*, January 26, 1943, p. 23.
44. Battling Nelson, *Life, Battles and Career of Battling Nelson*, 118 (Hegewisch, Illinois, 1908). The author's full name was Oscar Battling Matthew Nelson.

45. James J. Corbett, quoted by Frank G. Menke, *Sports Tales and Anecdotes*, 106-107 (New York, 1953).
46. Damon Runyon, *San Francisco Examiner*, sports column, February, 1943, supplied by Donald Canter, from the *Examiner* morgue.
47. Howard W. Smith, *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1943, p. 1H.
48. Mrs. Mortimer (Janet) Fleishhacker, Jr., Letter to William M. Kramer, April 19, 1970; interview with Mrs. Edwin Coe.
49. Interview with Mrs. Edwin Coe.
50. *San Francisco Examiner*, January 26, 1943, sec. CCCC, p. 17.
51. *New York Times*, January 26, 1943, p. 23.
52. *New York Times*, January 26, 1943, p. 23.
53. *San Francisco Examiner*, January 26, 1943, sec. CCCC, p. 17.
54. *Call-Bulletin*, January 26, 1943, p. 11.
55. *San Francisco Examiner*, undated clipping from the Choynski file in the newspaper morgue.
56. Postal, et al., *Encyclopedia*, 151.
57. *Call-Bulletin*, January 26, 1943, p. 11.
58. *Call-Bulletin*, January 26, 1943, p. 11, quoting Joe's youngest brother, Edwin.
59. Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 88.
60. The best collection of *Public Opinion* (San Francisco), published in the 1890's, is to be found at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. The complete run of the *American Israelite*, for which I. N. Choynski wrote for decades as the West Coast correspondent under the pseudonym of "Maftir," is to be found at the American Jewish Periodical Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.
61. *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), January 23, 1874, p. 4, January 29, 1875, p. 4; Mrs. Mortimer Fleishhacker, Jr., Pioneer File, California Room, California State Library, Sacramento. I. N. Choynski was born in Graudenz, the Polish form of which is Grudziadz.
62. Robert E. Cowan, *Booksellers of Early San Francisco* (Los Angeles, 1953); *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 25, 1899, p. 5; *Weekly Gleaner* (San Francisco), February 1, 1861, p. 2; *Langley's San Francisco Directory for the Year 1865*, p. 373.
63. *Weekly Gleaner*, December 30, 1859, p. 4.
64. *Weekly Gleaner*, March 21, 1862, p. 5; interview with Mrs. Edwin Coe; interview with Miss Florence Coe.
65. Interview with Mrs. Edwin Coe.
66. *San Francisco Examiner*, January 26, 1943, sec. CCCC, p. 17, 18. See also *Daily Alta California*, February 27, 1889, p. 8.
67. Interview with Miss Florence Coe.
68. Congregation Sherith Israel, Dues Record Book, 5622 (1862), at Western Jewish History Center, Berkeley.
69. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1943, p. 3H.
70. *San Francisco Examiner*, undated clipping from the Choynski file in the newspaper morgue.
71. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1943, p. 3H.
72. *New York Times*, January 26, 1943, p. 23.
73. Postal, et al., *Encyclopedia*, 152.

# “Why Shouldn’t California Have the Grandest Aqueduct in the World?”: Alexis Von Schmidt’s Lake Tahoe Scheme

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IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Americans were dazzled by material progress; no dream seemed too bold, as steel rails and telegraph wires linked distant parts of the nation and electricity flooded city streets with light and streetcars. But needs and expectations in the new age produced many practical engineering problems to be solved. Crucial to the continued growth and sustenance of the rapidly expanding American cities were larger public buildings, paved streets, and efficient water supply and sanitation systems. The engineers who tackled these problems did not win the adulation paid to statesmen of progress like Bell and Edison, but a few, including San Francisco engineer Alexis Von Schmidt, fired the public imagination.

The size and success of Von Schmidt’s projects built his reputation; his optimism, confidence, and driving energy made him a magnetic public figure. His tremendous assuredness and know-how led him to insist on managing each of his engineering schemes from start to finish; he drafted plans, raised money, and supervised construction. When existing tools or engineering techniques proved inadequate to complete a particular job, Von Schmidt devised his own. And like many men who win success easily, he was infected with a “grand obsession.” He was determined to build “the Grandest Aqueduct in the World” to carry the water of Lake Tahoe to the mines, farms, factories and cities of Northern California. It was a fitting dream for the “Age of Enterprise.”

In 1827, when Alexis was six, his family fled Russia and settled near Vincennes, Indiana. Little is known of his early life, except that the boy decided to follow his father’s occupation, civil engineering, and received his training in American universities. In May, 1849, gold lured the young engineer to California. Once in San Francisco, he resisted the impulse to join the feverish hordes flocking to the Mother Lode; instead, he went to work as a United States surveyor, mapping

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public lands and Spanish land grants throughout the state. By the middle 1850's, as towns began to blossom in Northern California, Von Schmidt recognized the opportunities for imaginative engineers in solving urban problems; thereafter, most of his schemes concerned San Francisco.

In the thirteen years from 1857 to 1870, every project Von Schmidt undertook demonstrated his daring, originality, and versatility. He was one of the founders of the Bensley Water Company and, as the company's chief engineer, he built San Francisco's first water supply system in the late 1850's. After the company refused to pay him for use of a water meter he had invented, Von Schmidt became chief engineer, and a leading stockholder, in the rival Spring Valley Water Company in 1860. Vowing to "get even," he built an even larger supply system which allowed his new company to buy out the Bensley Company and establish a water monopoly in San Francisco during 1865. By the middle 1860's Von Schmidt had also completed construction of San Francisco's first dry-dock at Hunter's Point. Visitors marvelled at the size of the transoceanic ships the dock could accommodate and at Von Schmidt's efficient pump system which could drain the dock in less than two hours.

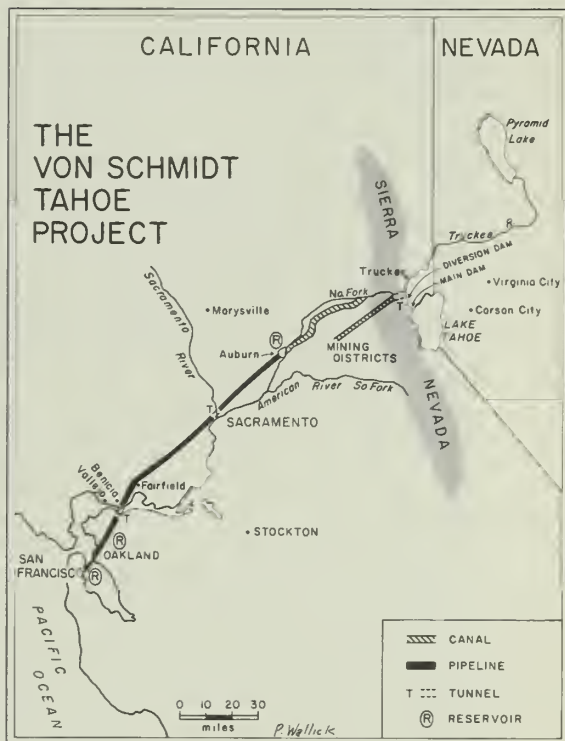
The crowning accomplishment of his career was completed on April 23, 1870. On that date San Francisco took a holiday as thousands of its residents climbed Russian and Telegraph hills to witness the removal of Blossom Rock, an immense hazard to San Francisco Bay navigation located near Alcatraz Island barely five feet below the surface at low tide. Twenty-three tons of dynamite had been wedged into a huge chamber excavated within the rock, and the successful explosion shot water and rock fragments hundreds of feet above the bay. Von Schmidt patented his method of excavation, and news of the feat was reported in New York newspapers and an English engineering journal. A similar method was later used to destroy Hell-Gate, an obstruction in New York City's harbor. By the summer of 1870, Von Schmidt's engineering ability was widely recognized.<sup>1</sup>

The restless engineer had left the Spring Valley Company in 1864, convinced that San Francisco would soon outgrow its water supply on the San Francisco peninsula. Even before resigning from the newer company, he revealed an interest in using Lake Tahoe as a water supply, though not for San Francisco. In the summer of 1863 a plan was submitted to Virginia City's Board of Aldermen. As one of six directors of the Lake Tahoe and Nevada Water Company, Von Schmidt suggested that Tahoe water could be piped over a low range of hills near Carson City, through the Washoe Basin, then up to a reservoir on the side of Mt. Davidson where it could be stored as a supply for the mines and towns of the Comstock Lode. But the aldermen doubted the feasibility of the project, since the 6,000-foot elevation of Virginia City would require an elaborate and expensive pump system, and they balked at granting the company an exclusive water franchise.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later, on June 20, 1865, San Francisco's *Daily Alta California* announced that Von Schmidt had established the Lake Tahoe and San Francisco Water Works Company to bring the water of Lake Tahoe to the Bay Area, a distance of 163 miles across the interior of California. The *Alta* was confident the scheme would "... throw into the shade all similar works of either ancient or modern times, in the old or new world. The undertaking is so great that we can scarcely hope to see it finished in our time." The *Daily Morning Call* exuberantly



*The size and success of Von Schmidt's many engineering projects built his reputation; his optimism, confidence, and driving energy made him a magnetic public figure. His project to bring water from Lake Tahoe to the expanding cities, farms, factories, and mines in Northern California fitted the imagination of the "Age of Enterprise."*



declared that the project was "... decidedly the most stupendous waterworks enterprise ever undertaken on the American continent."

Initially, Von Schmidt's proposal to build "the grandest aqueduct in the world" attracted few investors, and the engineer turned to other projects. But the initial survey work done in 1865 and 1866 was enough to worry Nevada's attorney general who questioned whether Von Schmidt had any legal claim to Tahoe water. The Nevada official argued that Nevada's farms and mills were completely dependent on the Truckee River and held preminent water rights through established usage. He expected that more water would be needed to drive quartz mills which would be constructed after the trans-continental railroad and a spur line connecting Virginia City and Truckee had been completed. Von Schmidt called the complaint groundless, since the dam he intended to build at the outlet of the lake, he maintained, would store enough water to supply both states. In any case, he emphasized that California had a superior claim to Tahoe water since two-thirds of the lake and its outlet were within its border.<sup>3</sup>

The attorney general's fears turned out to be real but premature, for the project remained dormant until early 1870 when several circumstances contributed to its revival. The year 1869 had been very dry, and 1870 threatened to be even worse. Water rates in San Francisco rose to several times those paid by residents of New York, Boston, or Philadelphia. Everyone knew San Francisco did not have

enough water, and Von Schmidt's revelation that the Spring Valley Company shut down the water supply of certain parts of the city from midnight to dawn nursed public bitterness.<sup>4</sup>

The engineer's attack on the Spring Valley Company coincided with the introduction of new water bills in both Sacramento and Washington, D.C. In the California bill, Von Schmidt's company pledged to supply San Francisco with 20,000,000 gallons of water daily. In return the Board of Supervisors was required to submit a \$10,000,000 bond issue, at 7 per cent interest, to city voters at the next municipal election. The bonds would be paid off through water sales, and the act gave the board authority to buy out the Spring Valley Company at a price not exceeding the value of its capital stock. Undoubtedly Von Schmidt was confident that Tahoe water prices would undercut rates charged by the Spring Valley Company. As a result he could insure potential investors that if his project was accepted by the voters, ultimately the Lake Tahoe Company would establish its own water monopoly.

The provision of the federal bill would have given the Tahoe Company clear right-of-way over federal lands and a supply of earth, timber, and stone along the line of the aqueduct. Most important, a land grant was included. As each quarter of the aqueduct was completed, those ungranted odd checkerboard sections within twenty miles of both sides would become property of the water company. The California bill was sent to the San Francisco legislative delegation for consideration; the federal bill was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.<sup>5</sup>

The project touched off a storm of controversy. Land-grant bills were under heavy attack in Congress, and the *Chicago Tribune* called the federal bill "alms-giving," arguing that the federal government had no business subsidizing private corporations by giving away public lands. Virginia City's *Daily Territorial Enterprise* echoed the arguments made by the Nevada attorney general in 1866 and warned that if the project was approved by the California legislature and San Francisco voters, "... we advise the incorporators to bring to the mountains an escort of twenty regiments of militia. They will need them all for we will not submit to the proposed robbery. That's all."

The controversy was more than one exclusively over water rights. Going straight to the point, the *Enterprise* charged that San Francisco capitalists had turned Nevada into an economic satellite of California. Thus, the Lake Tahoe scheme was given symbolic meaning:

San Francisco speculators have been plundering this state for many years almost without rebuke. They have ruined our best mines, compelled us to feed their extravagance, and played foot-ball with the vital interests of the whole Commonwealth. We have submitted to all this, and shall probably be forced to submit to it for some time to come; but our water supplies from Lake Tahoe must not be tampered with by these gentlemen. They may take the gold and silver from our hills, and bind us in vassalage to the caprices of their stock boards, but the pure water that comes to us from Lake Tahoe, that drives our mills and makes glad our waste places, is God's exhaustless gift, and the hand of man cannot deprive us of it.

The Truckee River flowing out of Lake Tahoe was Nevada's life-blood; its water was the promise of future industrial development and economic independence from California.<sup>6</sup>



Reaction within California to the proposed bills was mixed. The Truckee River drove the machinery of the town of Truckee's factories and mills and supported its lumber industry by floating logs into Nevada. As it was, the river had sufficient volume only four months in the year to float timber across the border. If Nevada could not get the lumber it needed to build its towns and shore up its mines, Truckee would die, too. The *Truckee Weekly Republican* suggested violence would be used to prevent work on the project.

California's interior towns showed some support for the plan in the early 1870's. The *Marysville Union* was confident the project would "... cause millions of gold to be taken out that cannot be secured without this work, and hundreds of thousands of acres of the dry plains will be made into pleasant homes and add greatly to the taxable property of the State." The *Placer Herald* and *Auburn Stars & Stripes* maintained the project would allow miners to double or triple their operations. In Sacramento, a *Daily Bee* editor thought San Francisco could save capital residents the cost of building a new water system: "If San Francisco gives \$10,000,000 to somebody to bring in the waters of Tahoe, they will have to come by our door and we can have them cheap, clear, and in abundance. . . ." However, he was skeptical the project could be completed soon enough to meet Sacramento's needs.

In San Francisco Von Schmidt's ambitious project faced heavy opposition. The engineer was attacked for not publishing full details of his construction plans and for appealing to the California legislature rather than allowing San Francisco's Board of Supervisors to rule on the plan's merit. Most public officials thought an adequate low-cost water supply could be found on the San Francisco peninsula, and they knew property taxes would have to be raised drastically to pay the \$700,000 yearly interest on the bonds. Moreover, the water company, not the city, would own the completed water system and set its own rates. All this would have to be swallowed to get a water supply only twice as large as that provided by the Spring Valley Company. Some of the city's newspapers thought the bill was speculative, most thought it underhanded, and all smelled corruption.

These arguments hurt the bill's chance of passage, but it was the reputation of the 1870 legislature which killed it. There was nearly unanimous editorial agreement throughout Northern California that the 1870 legislature was the most corrupt in the state's history. Day after day editorials attacked one bill or another designed to subsidize a private company. The *Alta* pictured San Francisco as a medieval town under siege by robber barons roosting in Sacramento. The *Evening Bulletin* accused the legislature of trying to sell San Francisco by saddling the city with \$40,000,000 in debt threatened by a half-dozen private bills. The *Chronicle* expected that the state legislature would find a way to assign to the city the state debt, "or, might it not be a good plan to confiscate the city altogether—sell her off at tax sale—give Sacramento and Oakland their just proportion of the proceeds, and hand the balance to the Tahoe Water Company? This would relieve many persons of anxiety upon the question, how to pay their taxes."

A rumor reached San Francisco in mid-March that certain members of the legislature were getting ready to sneak the Tahoe bill through before adjournment. In response, petitions against the bill were circulated throughout the city—Von Schmidt claimed the runners were hired by the frightened Spring Valley

Company—and the signatures of over 1,000 prominent San Franciscans were forwarded to Sacramento. The chamber of commerce framed a bitter protest opposing any water bond-issue unless provision was made to transfer ownership of the completed works to the city. This opposition persuaded cautious members of the San Francisco legislative delegation to bury the bill. The federal bill remained bottled up in the Public Lands Committee.<sup>8</sup>

Still, by the end of 1870 Von Schmidt had good reason to be optimistic. In the summer a dam was built at the outlet of the lake and a survey made of the diversion canal branching off from the Truckee. A guard was posted at the dam to protect it against hot-headed residents of Truckee or Virginia City. Late in November San Francisco's Board of Supervisors awarded the Tahoe Company the right to lay water pipes in the city, and Oakland's mayor promised to get a similar bill passed in that city. The next step in the project was construction of a tunnel through the Sierra, and a leading stockholder in the company was confident that enough stock to finance the tunnel could be sold in six days.<sup>9</sup>

In February, 1871, advertisements began appearing in Sacramento and San Francisco newspapers announcing sale of 2,000 shares of stock with a face value of \$1,000 per share at \$200 a share. The announcements promised that the company was "... organized in good faith and will begin operations immediately." The stock sold briskly.<sup>10</sup> Shortly after the new stock issue was put on sale, Von Schmidt made an offer to the Board of Supervisors. Confident that plenty of stock could be sold, he had modified his 1870 offer considerably. There was no attempt in 1871 to force the board to accept a decision made in Sacramento or by San Francisco voters; it was left entirely up to the board to approve or reject the project. The price had been dropped from \$10,000,000 in bonds at 7 per cent to \$6,000,000 at 6 per cent, and the new offer stipulated that the bonds would be issued only after Tahoe water flowed into San Francisco. Von Schmidt emphasized that the bonds were needed only to strengthen his company's credit. He promised the new water supply would be available within four years. At the same time he tried to meet the objection of those who wanted more detailed information on the scheme. Though full details were not published until October, 1871, most were released early in 1871 in letters to newspapers.

The water company claimed its water rights at Tahoe were guaranteed by California incorporation laws and a United States statute passed in 1866 entitled "An Act granting the right of way to Ditch and Canal owners, over the Public Lands, and for other purposes." Undoubtedly this was designed to allay fear of a possible water-war with Nevada.

The lake was expected to provide an enormous water supply. Von Schmidt claimed that his dam was capable of raising the lake level by six feet and that each foot would provide a supply of 137,000,000 gallons daily for a year. In wet years when the lake reached the top of the dam, 822,000,000 gallons could be provided daily, but since the company owned water rights to many small streams on both sides of the Sierra, in most years water would be drawn from the lake for no more than eight months.

Three and three-quarter miles downstream from the main dam a diversion dam would be constructed. At this point a six-mile canal would branch off from the Truckee flowing into Squaw Valley. A five-mile tunnel beginning at the head of

Hardscrabble Creek would carry the water through the mountains to a tributary of the North Fork of the American River near Soda Springs. From this point a huge ditch, with a carrying capacity of 500,000,000 gallons daily, would carry water to hydraulic mines at Iowa Hill, Michigan Bluffs, Yankee Jims, Forest Hill, and other mining districts in the foothills.

The water destined for farms and towns would flow along the granite bed of the American River for twelve miles to a point from which a forty-mile stone-lined canal would link the river with a large reservoir near Auburn. From the reservoir a five-foot-diameter pipe-line would carry the water to Sacramento where a branch tunnel would carry the water under the American River. From Sacramento the aqueduct would run parallel to the Southern Pacific tracks through Fairfield to Benicia where a third tunnel would carry the water under a narrow stretch of the Carquinez Straits. From Benicia branch pipe-lines could carry water to Vallejo and Stockton. The main aqueduct would then cross the San Pablo flatland to the East Bay where a second reservoir would be constructed in the Oakland Hills. From that reservoir, a pipe-line with flexible joints would be laid along the bottom of the bay to Hunter's Point where the water would be stored for use in San Francisco.<sup>11</sup>

As in 1870, there was a strong reaction from California and Nevada newspapers. Virginia City's *Enterprise* claimed all Truckee water belonged to Nevada because of the state's heavy dependence on the river. It urged the Judiciary Committee of the Nevada legislature to come up with a legal plan to block the project permanently; meanwhile, it recommended that the Nevada attorney general bring a temporary injunction suit in a federal court. It also supported a bill introduced in Congress on April 6, 1871, "[t]o inquire what legislation is necessary to prevent damage to public lands of the United States by the diversion of the waters of Lake Tahoe . . . ."

The *Enterprise* continued to charge that Nevada was being systematically plundered by California capitalists, but its efforts were useless. The federal bill was killed in the House Judiciary Committee, and neither Nevada's Judiciary Committee, nor its attorney general, took action. As Carson City's *Daily State Register*, a more thoughtful critic of the project, pointed out, only Truckee River water-users could press water suits and then only when injury to their water rights was "imminent" and "certain." Nevada could not act on fear of what *might* happen *after* the Tahoe project was finished. Von Schmidt had repeatedly assured Nevadans his scheme would not restrict the natural flow of the river, and, as it was, Nevada allowed much of the Truckee flow to go to waste. It had no legal right to hold unappropriated water for its future use.<sup>12</sup>

In San Francisco most newspapers continued to oppose any bond issue to support a private company. But the destruction of Blossom Rock in April, 1870, after the adjournment of the legislature, won the *Alta's* support of the project. In December, 1870, it paid the engineer warm praise:

Few men have done as much practical positive good to California as Col. Von Schmidt. He has fairly earned the name of a public benefactor and a great engineer. No undertaking seems too grand for his vigorous grasp. The magic of success attaches to whatever he touches, although often pronounced impossible by others with less genius, who never venture beyond the limits of the rules laid down in the books.



The *Alta* also ran many favorable letters from readers impressed with the purity and abundance of a Tahoe water supply. The *Chronicle* sympathized with Von Schmidt's desire to break the Spring Valley monopoly and hoped "... [he] will be permitted to go on with his work." The real question was who would pay for it.<sup>13</sup>

The unpopularity of the Spring Valley Company probably contributed to the decision made by the Board of Supervisors on April 4, 1871, to accept Von Schmidt's offer; in doing so it passed over several cheaper alternative supply offers from other water companies. San Francisco's experience with the Spring Valley monopoly, however, convinced Mayor Thomas Selby that the city should own its water supply and not be "at the mercy of a corporation." His veto message pointed out the Tahoe project would cost much more than \$6,000,000 if interest on the bonds and the city's expense of building a reservoir and laying water mains were considered. Moreover, it was uncertain how long the project would take to complete, and litigation over Tahoe water rights could imperil the city's water supply. The mayor called for a complete investigation of potential water sources in California, and the board subsequently sustained his veto.<sup>14</sup>

Undaunted, Von Schmidt went ahead with the project, confident that it could be financed without the city's help. In 1870 Leland Stanford had approached a major stockholder in the Tahoe Company with the ominous suggestion that the Central Pacific was interested in "connecting with our company." The directors of the Tahoe Company, however, were not willing to run the risk of falling under control of the railroad, and Von Schmidt did not like the alternative tunnel route through the Sierra suggested by the Central Pacific's chief engineer. Thus the offer was rejected. But the railroad was persistent; a joint water and railroad tunnel through the Sierra would have shortened the trans-Sierra railroad line by seven miles, reduced the grade, and eliminated the need for dangerous and expensive snowsheds. In the spring of 1871, the Donner Boom and Logging Company, a subsidiary of the Central Pacific holding extensive Truckee water claims, filed a Placer County injunction suit against Von Schmidt's company, charging that the Tahoe dam interfered with the flow of the river. Possibly the injunction suit was filed to force the Tahoe Company to enter a contract with the Central Pacific to share tunnel boring expenses. Or, perhaps Von Schmidt thought his company could use the financial backing and credit rating an alliance with the railroad would bring. In any case, the suit was dropped and the contract between the water company and railroad signed in August, 1871.

Clearly, the tunnel was the critical part of the project. Once completed, the aqueduct could be financed from water sales to miners in the Sierra foothills. Late in August, Von Schmidt returned to San Francisco with the news that a railroad tunnel had been surveyed and that within a few days two gangs of workmen would begin boring from both ends of the tunnel. By the following spring, he said, he hoped to have 400 workmen on the scene. Supply stores had been established at both ends of the tunnel, and Von Schmidt was eager to begin using the ingenious compressed-air tunnel-boring machine he had invented.

Then, suddenly, Von Schmidt's optimism was shattered by the death of George Ensign. Ensign had founded the Spring Valley Company but joined the Lake Tahoe Company in 1865, becoming a heavy investor and valuable booster. Settle-

ment of his estate stalled work on the tunnel. Moreover, many of the company's stockholders complained the railroad was not paying its full share of tunnel expenses. For these reasons the contract was cancelled, and the railroad soon lost interest in the project.<sup>15</sup>

The company suffered a second setback when the water committee which Mayor Selby had called for in his April veto message made a preliminary report on potential water sources. It suggested that the peninsula water supply, if properly used, was adequate for years to come. The Tahoe project was described as "chimerical" because the committee was convinced the Sierra tunnel would cost many times what Von Schmidt had estimated and would take much longer to complete. In response, Von Schmidt responded that the Spring Valley Company, which had bought water rights to many of the best potential sources in the Bay Area, was behind the committee's decision: "I should not be surprised if the people of this city will now be asked to appropriate a large amount to purchase water works supplied from heavy dews."<sup>16</sup>

Von Schmidt did not give up. In January, 1872, he renewed his offer to the Board of Supervisors. This time he offered the city the opportunity to buy out his company within two years of project completion for an additional \$6,000,000 in bonds, or a total of \$12,000,000. The city ignored the offer, and Von Schmidt turned his energies to the legislature again. He proposed a new bill which increased the cost of the project to \$8,000,000, but guaranteed the city a daily supply of 50,000,000 gallons. The Von Schmidt bill was only one of three San Francisco water bills before the legislature, but, with strong support from California's interior counties—which had nothing to lose and everything to gain from the Tahoe project—the bill passed the assembly 49 to 27.

In response, both the San Francisco mayor and board demanded that the legislature defeat all three water bills. The senate had already passed a bill allowing the board to select a water supply without senate interference. However, when the Tahoe bill reached the senate floor, debate was hot. Many senators thought the bill was fair because it gave San Francisco voters an opportunity to pass judgment on the project. After a San Francisco senator read protests from San Francisco officials and threatened to resign if representatives from interior counties pushed the offending bill through, the bill was refused a third reading by a vote of 14 to 22. The other two San Francisco water bills were also rejected. The dam at the outlet of the lake, and a small diversion dam downstream, remained the only solid accomplishment of the Tahoe Water Company.<sup>17</sup>

Von Schmidt kept busy. In the summer of 1872 he accepted a \$41,000 contract to survey the California-Nevada border from Lake Tahoe to Oregon, and in the mid-1870's he invented a dredge and used it to deepen the estuary between Oakland and Alameda.

The Tahoe project was not dead, however. It was re-submitted, with some changes, to the Board of Supervisors in 1875 and 1877, and the new Board of Water commissioners visited the lake in July, 1876, on an inspection tour. But city officials still opposed the project, and the Lake Tahoe Company neared bankruptcy.<sup>18</sup>

The unpopularity of the Spring Valley Company and new water surveys made in 1874-75 and 1876-77 kept the water controversy hot. Although the city decided

to buy out the company in 1874, negotiations bogged down. In fact, despite other attempts, the company maintained its monopoly into the twentieth century. Almost yearly the company challenged the water rates set by the Board of Supervisors in court while the board demanded to inspect the company's books. Despite frequent legal battles, the company managed to expand its operations to meet most of the city's immediate water needs.

For ten years the Tahoe project lay dormant. Then, in July, 1887, a flurry of excitement developed over rumors that the Lake Tahoe Company would be revived with the help of Nevada investors, including silver-baron James C. Flood. Senators Leland Stanford of California and James Fair of Nevada were reported ready to lend their political influence. Von Schmidt refused to confirm the rumors, though through San Francisco papers he hinted that they had substance: "This Tahoe project has ever been a great hobby of mine, and I am satisfied I shall live to see my project carried out." Though Flood favored the project, his personal secretary denied the capitalist would finance it.

Nothing more was heard of the project until April, 1890, when Von Schmidt, now in his late sixties, appeared before the San Francisco Water Committee with an offer to construct a Tahoe water system capable of supplying 100,000,000 gallons daily for \$15,000,000. Since the city would own the system, Von Schmidt promised it could make \$3,000,000 yearly in water sales and cut water rates by 50 per cent. The committee was assured Nevada would not contest the diversion, but no action was taken.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, the future of the Tahoe project was brighter than at any time since the early 1870's. Increasingly, San Francisco officials were convinced that only a Sierra water source could keep pace with the city's growth. And, by the 1890's, Sierra sources were more attractive because of their potential to generate electricity. In February, 1895, Assemblyman Calvin Ewing of San Francisco introduced a bill to create the State of California Water Works to supply Tahoe water, and electrical power, to San Francisco and interior California communities. California's governor, controller, secretary of state, attorney general, and treasurer were to serve as a board of directors in setting water and power rates. A state bond issue of \$40,000,000 would be issued as work progressed. The bill was killed, however, apparently because it required an amendment to Section Fourteen of the State Constitution to permit the state to incur the bond debt. Such massive public works projects were not yet considered the state's responsibility.<sup>20</sup>

Full of concern, in January, 1900, Senator William Morris Stewart of Nevada made an unsuccessful attempt to have Congress designate Lake Tahoe as a national park. One section of his bill promised surplus Truckee water to Nevada farmers. Perhaps Nevada's renewed interest in the lake was partly responsible for the trip Luther Waggoner, chief of San Francisco's Department of Public Utilities, made to the lake that summer to map an aqueduct to San Francisco and inspect Von Schmidt's dam.

Prior to his trip, Waggoner suggested that water be drawn from Tahoe near McKinney's Resort, on the west shore of the lake, and carried by tunnel through the Sierra to Rubicon Springs. However, once in the mountains, he decided the Rubicon and American rivers matched Tahoe's purity and were much more ac-



cessible. Consequently, he urged the city to buy a suitable reservoir site in the western Sierra before the best sites were taken by mining-ditch and electrical power companies. Waggoner confirmed that Von Schmidt's aqueduct route was the best available.

The Waggoner survey team reported "much determined opposition" by Nevadans to any diversion from the lake. At a May 5 meeting held at the Reno courthouse, some farmers suggested "antagonistic measures" to block diversion. Instead, a resolution was sent to Mayor James Phelan of San Francisco challenging the Lake Tahoe Water Company's water rights and denying there was any surplus water to appropriate. The Nevadans hoped San Francisco's supervisors would visit Tahoe and Reno:

This would give them an opportunity to see the great sawmill of the Truckee Lumber Company, the box factory and the ice plant, all operated from the Truckee; the new paper mills at Floriston, where San Francisco parties have invested a million dollars; the ice works at Iceland, Floriston and Boca where Californians put up 200,000 tons of ice a year; the mills at State Line, and the new power plant to carry the Comstock mills and machinery; all the farms in our valley, with mills, electric light works; sawmills, box factories, etc. in Verdi, of which nothing would be left after taking away their water supply.

A four-man committee was appointed to deliver the invitation to the mayor and represent Nevada at any meetings of the board which would affect Nevada's water interests.

Waggoner's report, and the determined opposition of Nevadans, left Von Schmidt little hope. Too old to prosecute the scheme with his former energy, and too stubborn to delegate promotion of the project to others, in March, 1901, the seventy-nine-year-old engineer offered San Francisco the property and water rights his company held at Tahoe for \$50,000. The offer was ignored.<sup>21</sup>

On May 26, 1906, Alexis Von Schmidt died. A month earlier the old man watched from his Alameda home as San Francisco was ravaged by the three-day inferno touched off by the great earthquake. He had been one of San Francisco's master builders, and his daughter, Mrs. Lily Tilden, thought the shock of the fire hastened his death. He must have thought the city had paid for its shortsightedness: Tahoe water might have saved it. In September, 1907, the Lake Tahoe and San Francisco Water Works Company sold the forty acres of land it owned at Tahoe for \$400 and presented the money to Mrs. Tilden in honor of the services her father had rendered as president and chief engineer of the company. It was a small price for such devotion.<sup>22</sup>

Shortly thereafter the Lake Tahoe Company disbanded, and its remaining property and water rights were acquired by a prominent San Francisco attorney, James A. Waymire, who had lost heavily through investing in the Turlock Irrigation District and hoped the Tahoe project would restore his capital and repair his tarnished reputation. The *Reno Evening Gazette* of September 5, 1908, ominously reported that Waymire had thoroughly studied the legal questions involved and secured strong financial support. Professor Henry Thurtell, a member of the Nevada Railroad Commission and former state engineer, alerted the *Gazette* to Waymire's plans, which the attorney revealed in greater detail several days later. Electrical power was an important part of his plan; four power plants

would be built on the American River capable of generating 400,000 horsepower. The cost of the project was set at \$42,000,000.<sup>23</sup>

By this time the federal government's Newland's Project which appropriated Truckee and Carson River water to irrigate farms around Fallon, Nevada, had been in operation for several years, and announcement of Waymire's project did not incite the same reaction Waggoner's visit to Tahoe had in 1900. Still, the *Gazette* warned of the devastation of farms, factories, and towns, remembering that several months earlier Waymire had published two well-reasoned pamphlets which demonstrated he had thought about the many engineering and legal questions involved in the appropriation of Tahoe water. One pamphlet considered individual state and federal water-rights cases in detail to show that Waymire's company, the California Water Company, had a legitimate claim to unappropriated Tahoe water. Yet, Waymire was convinced California had more than a legal right to the largest share of Tahoe's outflow. A second pamphlet published in 1908, *Lake Tahoe and Truckee River Water Supply: Distribution of Interstate Waters*, compared in detail the populations, property values, and arable acreage of California and Nevada. The main purpose of the pamphlet was to encourage Nevadans to draw their water from other rivers in eastern California and leave use of the Truckee to California. Many of his arguments had been expressed by supporters of the Lake Tahoe project in the 1870's. But Waymire added the argument that the two states had different assets which complemented each other. Nevada's resources were mineral. At best, because of the alkaline nature of its desert soil, only 185,000 acres could be profitably cultivated, the pamphlet maintained. For that acreage, Donner and Independence lakes could be used as reservoir sites and the flow of the Carson River alone would be adequate for irrigation. Eventually, other reservoirs could be financed by the federal government Reclamation Service which supervised operation of the Newland's Project.

As opposed to Nevada's limited agricultural prospects, the pamphlet continued, California was a gardenland with a rapidly increasing population. In time, Nevada might claim 1,000,000 residents, but California might well have over 40,000,000. California's larger population would need Tahoe water for electricity and manufacturing as well as irrigation and domestic use. The orchards along the American River, and 300,000 acres of fertile land east of Sacramento, would be immensely profitable if more water became available. Nevada would benefit from the power and business generated in California, and Waymire offered to endow the University of Nevada with \$1,000,000 if that state relinquished all claim to water from the Lake Tahoe watershed. Nevada could appropriate full use of the Carson and Walker rivers and all the water which flowed into the Truckee downstream from the dam at the outlet of the lake.

The persuasiveness of Waymire's proposal, and Von Schmidt's dream, was never measured, however, for suddenly, in April, 1910, James Waymire died on a trip East made "... for the purpose of financing California projects in which he was interested." We do not know whether the Lake Tahoe project was one of them.<sup>24</sup>

Von Schmidt's project died with Waymire. San Francisco had turned its attention to Lake Eleanor and the Tuolumne River as potential water supplies. Ironically, the Tuolumne project became even more controversial than the Tahoe

scheme. John Muir blocked attempts to dam the Little Yosemite for thirteen years, but the Hetch-Hetchy Project was finally completed in 1934. Even more ironic, the expensive Hetch-Hetchy Project involved construction of a 155-mile aqueduct and a 25-mile tunnel under the coastal mountain range. Von Schmidt's vision had been vindicated.

The Tahoe project did not fail because it was corrupt or impractical. It failed partly because it appealed more to the imagination than to the pocketbook. It was expensive, and it was born at a time Californians had great respect for engineers but a greater fear of being robbed by government. Even more important, few men had the foresight of Von Schmidt and even fewer his abilities. How could political men, with little or no engineering knowledge, evaluate the practicality of bold engineering projects? And how could they predict how much water San Francisco would need in thirty or fifty years? In a larger sense, the Tahoe project highlighted the need for new agencies in city government and specialists to administer them. The Tahoe Project was one of many water projects city officials had to evaluate as San Francisco became the largest city on the Pacific coast. Politicians could neither accurately evaluate the merits of major engineering projects, nor could they raise the money needed to finance them. As a consequence, many new specialized agencies of local government were created in the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's, including water commissions, utility commissions, and public-works boards. Unfortunately, in the case of water supply, these agencies came too late. By the time the city decided to own its water supply and felt confident that it could raise the money to pay for it, the old monopoly created when the city had been forced to rely on private capital could not be broken.

In both California and Nevada, Von Schmidt's project touched off a bitter water controversy which persisted, in varying forms, into the 1950's and 1960's. By the early twentieth century each state was convinced its claim to Tahoe water was strongest, and through the early decades of the new century the claims seemed irreconcilable. Von Schmidt's project left a bitter legacy.

VON SCHMIDT'S portrait is reproduced from the frontispiece to George Reimer, "Col. A. W. von Schmidt: His Career as Surveyor and Engineer, 1852-1900," masters thesis, 1961, in Bancroft Library; the map is courtesy the author.

#### NOTES

1. Von Schmidt left only a few personal papers, and efforts to locate records of the Lake Tahoe and San Francisco Water Works Company have been unsuccessful. No full scale biography of Von Schmidt exists, but George Reimer's "Colonel Alexis Von Schmidt: His Career as Surveyor and Engineer, 1852-1900," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1961, is useful. The unpublished "Biographical Sketch of Alexis Von Schmidt" written by his daughter, Lily F. Tilden, contains interesting biographical information. Typescript copies are in the California State Library, Sacramento, and the Marion O. Mitchell Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

2. *Virginia Evening Bulletin* (Virginia City), September 12, 1863.

3. *Alta*, June 20, 1865. The *Call* article was reprinted in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 6, 1865. The attorney general's comments were published in the *Union*, October 9, 1866; Von Schmidt's reply was printed in the *Union*, October 15, 1866.



4. *Alta*, February 21, February 25, and March 1, 1870; *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, March 2, 1870.
5. SB 346 (Betge), Calif. Leg., introduced February 14, 1870; S 572 (Cole), 41 Cong., 2 Sess., introduced February 21, 1870.
6. *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1870; *Daily Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City), February 23 and March 2, 1870.
7. *Truckee Weekly Republican*, February 26 and March 5, 1870; *Marysville Union* editorial reprinted in the *Sacramento Union* October 30, 1871; *Placer Herald*, March 11 and April 22, 1871; *Auburn Stars & Stripes* August 11, 1870; *The Daily Bee* (Sacramento), March 19 and March 23, 1870.
8. *Alta*, March 12, 1870; *Bulletin*, March 2, March 17, and March 19, 1870; *Call*, February 20, March 20, March 22, and March 25, 1870; *Chronicle*, March 20 and March 24, 1870.
9. Von Schmidt to Davis Hewes, December 18, 1870, and George Ensign to Hewes, December 20, 1870; both letters in Hewes Collection, California State Library, Sacramento.
10. *Sacramento Union*, February 24 and March 8, 1871.
11. *Alta*, March 14, 1871; *Bulletin* March 14, 1871, *Chronicle*, March 15, 1871; Alexis Von Schmidt, *Report to the Lake Tahoe and San Francisco Water Works Company* (San Francisco, 1871).
12. *Enterprise*, February 22, March 3, March 5, March 9, March 12, March 14, March 15, March 16, March 17, April 13, April 14, April 21, and May 23, 1871; *The Daily State Register* (Carson City), March 11, March 12, March 15, March 26, and April 8, 1871.
13. *Alta*, December 17, 1870; February 28, April 8, and April 15, 1871; *Chronicle* March 14, 1871.
14. *Alta*, April 25 and May 2, 1871; *Bulletin*, April 25, 1871.
15. George Ensign to David Hewes, December 20, 1870, Hewes Collection; *Auburn Stars & Stripes*, October 12, 1871; *California Mailbag*, August, 1871; *Carson City Register*, July 13 and August 13, 1871; *Sacramento Union*, August 9, 1871.
16. *Alta*, December 13, 1871; *Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors on the Water Supplies for the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1872).
17. AB 263 (Wheaton), Calif. Leg., introduced January 30, 1872; *Alta*, January 9, 1872; *Sacramento Union*, March 29, 1872.
18. Von Schmidt to Hewes, March 14, 1876, Hewes Collection; *Alta*, March 15, 1875, August 2, 1876, and May 10, 1877; *Chronicle*, May 10 and July 30, 1876. Also see G. H. Mendell's *Report on the Various Projects for the Water Supply of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1877).
19. *Chronicle*, July 13, 1887; *Examiner*, July 12, 1887; *Bee*, April 18, 1890; *Call*, April 18, 1890; *Sacramento Union*, April 18, 1890.
20. AB 932 (Ewing), Calif. Leg., introduced February 20, 1895.
21. *Call*, May 6 and August 9, 1900; March 9, 1901; *Chronicle*, May 6 and May 11, 1900.
22. Lily F. Tilden, "Biographical Sketch of Alexis Von Schmidt." Also see the record of settlement of the Von Schmidt estate kept by Lily Tilden in the Mott-Von Schmidt Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.
23. *Bee*, September 5, 1908, *Chronicle*, September 6, 1908; *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 5, 1908. There is no published work on Waymire. For biographical information see the *Call*, March 10 and December 19, 1907.
24. James A. Waymire, *Diverting Water from Lake Tahoe for Use in California* (Oakland, 1908) and *Lake Tahoe and Truckee River Water Supply: Distribution of Interstate Waters* (Oakland, 1908). The quotation on Waymire's journey east is from an obituary printed in the *Call*, April 17, 1910.



# Maynard Dixon, Artist of the West

*As Remembered by Edith Hamlin*

For more than half a century—decades in which western mountains, deserts, and high plains passed from being the lone haunts of scattered Indian tribes and occasional white men to the scarred sites of freeway-nurtured housing developments—Lafayette Maynard Dixon, known as Maynard Dixon or by his artist's logo, an Indian Thunderbird, investigated, observed, and painted the American West. Artistically prolific despite lifelong, nearly incapacitating illnesses, Maynard Dixon is familiar through his works to individuals who do not know his name. Some 700-odd easel oil paintings produced since 1915 alone hang in museums, galleries, and homes around the country; countless drawings and sketches appeared in newspapers and magazines including *Overland Monthly*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Scribners*, *McClures*, and *Sunset*. Dixon's illustrations enhance some eighty books ranging from turn-of-the-century novels by Jack London, to Charles and Mary Beard's *A Basic History of the United States*, a 1940's collector's edition of Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*, and collections of the artist's own stories, Indian legends, and poems. His mural decorations, many of them federal government commissions, hang in railway stations, schools, residences, theaters, libraries, and restaurants throughout the West and as far distant as the Department of the Interior building in Washington, D.C. Literally hundreds of exhibitions across the United States, including one in 1968 at the De Young Museum in San Francisco, have featured the works of this tall, lean man who once wrote about his art in *Sunset Magazine* (January, 1921):

Maynard Dixon and Edith Hamlin in Arizona desert, 1940



My object has always been to get as close to the real thing as possible—people, animals and country. The melodramatic Wild West idea is not for me the big possibility. The more lasting qualities are in the quiet and more broadly human aspects of Western life. I am to interpret from the most part the poetry and pathos of life of Western people seen amid the grandeur, sternness and loneliness of their country.

*One hundred years after the birth of Maynard Dixon in the young San Joaquin settlement of Fresno, the California Historical Society is honoring one of California's finest native artists with a show at its headquarters at 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, which runs from February 25 to April 27, 1975. The exceptional show features nearly a hundred items, including sketches, ink drawings, oil paintings, photos of scattered inaccessible works, memorabilia, letters, and poems by the artist which have been gathered together with the assistance of Edith Hamlin, Maynard Dixon's wife from 1937 until his death in 1946. The text below, authored by Ms. Hamlin, a San Francisco painter and muralist, gives a personal account of the person and life of the artist, particularly during the years they shared. Editor's Note.*

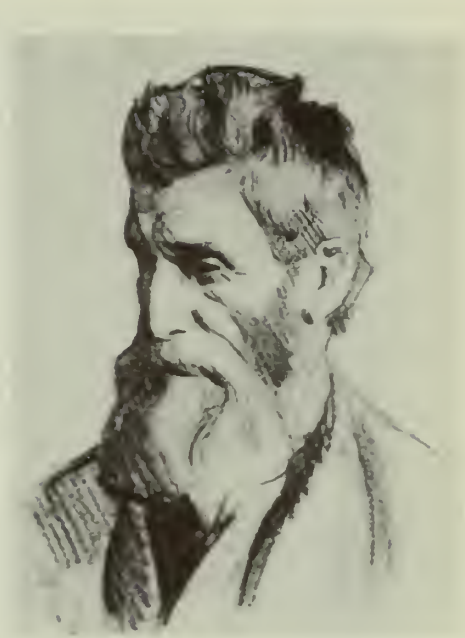
ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, on January 24, 1875, the renowned California artist Maynard Dixon was born in the frontier town of Fresno. His father, Harry St. John Dixon, had traveled to California with his family after the destruction of their family holdings in Mississippi during the Civil War. Near Fresno they homesteaded large cattle and sheep ranches. His mother, Constance Maynard, traveled west before the war with her family and settled in San Francisco. Her father, Lafayette Maynard, for whom her son would be named, was a former Virginia naval officer who speculated successfully in mining stocks, raised a family of six children, and played a prominent role in the southern social set of San Francisco. In 1873 Constance married Harry Dixon, and the two moved to the sparsely populated and raw San Joaquin Valley.

Young Maynard grew up amid the exciting events of the rough frontier town: Civil War veterans' reunions and parades, shootings, gambling, torch light vigilante processions, land speculations, and battles over irrigation rights. With desultory schooling because of frail health and frequent asthma attacks, he nonetheless assimilated much learning from his cultured parents and devoted paternal grandfather, from six uncles and aunts, and from his frequent sojourns at the Dixon ranch "Refuge."

As early as his seventh year, he made pencil sketches, crude but full of force, of the colorful life about him: broncos, cows and cowpunchers, cousins, and the rural landscape rimmed by faraway mountains. Although frequently lonely because of his delicate health, he had the good fortune to receive sympathetic artistic encouragement from his mother and his grandfather Dixon, a keen-eyed former Indian trailer and contemporary of Daniel Boone. Judge Dixon grounded Maynard in the fundamentals of drawing and encouraged him to observe carefully, to perceive (not merely to see), and to judge distances and proportions. About his grandfather Mayard remembered:

He was a stern and picturesque old-time Southerner, with eyes like blue ice, and long white hair, topped by a wide-brimmed Stetson. He was one of my heroes, and he must have had a kindly understanding of my tendency to shyness and introspection, and felt





Early Dixon sketches, "Cowboy with Chaps" and "Bearded Prospector"

that sketching and studying nature would be a wholesome corrective. His influence had a lasting effect, along with that of my parents and uncles, particularly my Uncle Mordecai, who knew horses.

Uncle George not only gave Maynard a buckskin mustang, "Dandy," but taught him to ride, to haze along the "dogies" with the vaqueros, and to scout the foothills where vast flocks of sheep were kept on the move by Indian sheepherders. These early experiences indelibly impressed upon the sensitive and observant boy the long landscape lines and strong simple people which characterized the western land, impressions that Dixon the artist never outgrew.

The evolution of the future artist had begun. At age sixteen, when a sketchbook he had sent to his then-idol Frederic Remington was returned with words of encouragement and advice, Maynard quit school to study art seriously on his own. Self-trained and physically stronger by age nineteen, he produced illustrations for Charles F. Lummis' *Land of Sunshine*, the *Overland Monthly*, and Jack London's Alaskan stories. At age twenty-one he took on his first regular job as a graphic illustrator for the Sunday supplement to the *San Francisco Call* and then for the *Examiner*. In addition to providing maturing experience and building the young man's confidence as an illustrator, these hectic and strenuous years earned Maynard his first getaway trip to the long-dreamed-of Southwest from which he returned with a treasure of drawings. Several sketching trips through the western states later, and after a rich excursion to Mexico with his friend Xavier Martinez, Maynard returned to San Francisco where, in 1905, he married fellow artist Lillian West Tobey. Following the 1906 earthquake and fire, the now well-established illustrator left with his wife for the lodestone market in New York, where he spent seven successful years in book and magazine illustration. There he gained recognition for his paintings in New York galleries and clubs.



Early drawings of Indians and self-cartoon of artist leaving studio during San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906



Maynard remained aloof from his New York success, though, and he frequently experienced altercations with eastern editors who understood the West only in the sensational terms of bucking broncos and marauding Indians. He pined for the West and increasingly aspired to leave the confinement of illustration. Returning to San Francisco in 1912, Maynard's decision was proved by the following years to be the right one.

Back on his home ground, without the heavy load of illustration deadlines, his painting developed with new directions and conviction. In addition to easel painting he began achieving recognition as a muralist as well, painting several widely acclaimed wall panels for the Baldwin mansion in Los Angeles. Recognizing the importance of his personal decision, Maynard once said: "I saw and always had seen something wonderful here in America. As a painter, then, I date from 1912." During the next four or five years of personal and artistic ups and downs, including depression about World War I, a divorce from his wife, and employment in an advertising and billboard company, he painted over 130 exhibition canvases, of which more than eighty found purchasers. In 1920, he married a young photographer, Dorothea Lange, who, a decade later, would gain wide fame as the Farm Security Administration and Resettlement Agency photographer who turned reluctant American eyes toward another ignored West.

Arriving in San Francisco in the early twenties to attend the California School of Fine Arts, I remember clearly my first impression of Maynard's paintings, shown in the Gump galleries. The sun-drenched, colorful, boldly designed landscapes had an immediate appeal for me. At the art school where Maynard taught briefly (he never liked formal art education or fashionable art) or striding down Montgomery Street to his studio, his lean, familiar figure dressed in casual Harris tweeds, trim early-western style boots, and black flat-crowned Stetson hat made him a colorful personality in the San Francisco scene of my art school years.

*Dixon in his San Francisco studio on Montgomery Street, c. 1920, amid his Indian and frontier collection*







*In his middle years Dixon (portrait at right by D. Lange) produced "Mystery Stone" (below), an illustration to his 1922 book of poems, and "Allegory" (1933-35), an equally mysterious canvas.*



It was not until 1933, however, following my return from several years in New York, that I came to know Maynard personally. The Depression had produced conditions of severe unemployment for American artists until the new Public Works Administration began organizing and financing art projects in cities across the country. The project (known later as Works Progress Administration or WPA) invoked a renaissance in mural painting, particularly in public buildings. It was through the new San Francisco Mural Artists' Society and the camaraderie among the professionals at that time (Maynard also helped reorganize and taught at the Art Students League in San Francisco in 1934) that I came to know Maynard as a fellow artist. He was interested and most helpful in the murals I was painting for the library of the Mission High School in San Francisco. Our studios, where

*In the mid-1930's the artist painted western scenes such as "Old Time Ranch House" (right), but Depression conditions such as the picket line in the composition drawing "Keep Moving" (below) stirred his imagination.*

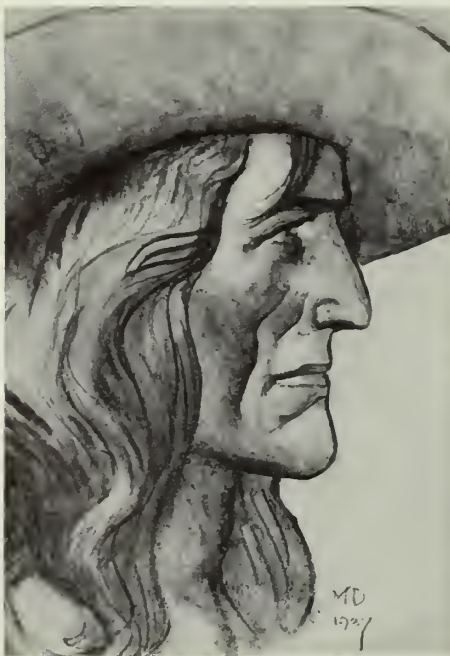


many of our artists' meetings were held, were almost adjacent. Following the breakup of his marriage to Dorothea Lange in 1935, and subsequently, of my own marriage, we had personal sympathies as well as artistic ones.

During the Depression years 1934 to 1938, Maynard's painting found new impetus and moved in the direction of social commentary. In sympathetic response to the violent San Francisco waterfront strike of 1934 came the moving paintings *Scab*, *Pickets*, *Keep Moving*, *Free Speech*, and others which incorporated a new cubist realism style and more somber palette. Following this group came the Forgotten Man canvasses of hoboes, agricultural migrants, and urban down-and-outers based on his recent western meanderings. The 1938 painting *Destination Unknown* depicting an old "bindle stiff" on the railroad tracks was the outstanding, final work, less specifically western and more truly American art in scope. A series of paintings and drawings on the construction of Hoover Dam which Maynard found a highly dramatic and awesome project also reflected his interest in the new western reality.

Meantime, in the golden days of September, 1937, Maynard outfitted his old wooden station wagon for an extended painting trip, feeling the need, as he did regularly throughout his life, to return to nature, his life's basic material. Maynard and I prepared to leave for Nevada, and, in answer to his two young sons' parting question, "Where are you going, Dad?", Maynard's eyes twinkled, and he replied, "To Carson City to buy a new hat." We were married there among old friends at the Bliss-Yerington mansion. The clear, crisp autumn days, the desert vistas and the glowing cottonwoods, the painting trips to pioneer towns, ranches, and mines, and the picnics and conviviality of those days stand out in my memory to this day.

Back in San Francisco after a year's absence, both mural commissions and exhibitions awaited Maynard. Since his first commission in 1907 for four lunettes in Tucson's Southern Pacific Railway station, mural design had strongly appealed







Commissioned by the federal government in 1937, "The Road to El Dorado," an 1840's theme in tempera on canvas, embellishes Northern California's Martinez Post Office.



Cartoon details—"Mountain Man" (far left), "Priest" (middle left), and "Indian" (near left)—for a mural at San Francisco's Presidio Junior High School which was never executed.



to him, and he completed over twenty such commissions in his lifetime. His bold, flat style, fine color sense, and excellent draftsmanship were particularly suited to architectural enhancement. Typical artists' problems with clients, politics, and considerable expense, however, prevented some of his best sketches from being executed. Because of the withdrawal of WPA funding, in addition to ill health and other work pressures, his handsome designs for historical murals in San Francisco's Presidio Junior High School had to be abandoned.

However, three other mural commissions were completed between 1936 and 1939. In the Kit Carson cafe, an attractive San Francisco theater-area rendezvous, two panels were installed. In 1939, along with other well-known American artists, Maynard was asked to design two murals, *The Indian Yesterday* and *The Indian Today*, for the new Department of the Interior building in Washington, D.C. The murals, in the foyer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were completed in 1940. We took the train east for the installation and the following festivities with which the Section of Fine Arts honored the artists.

Two mural commissions for California post offices were also awarded to Maynard by the Section of Fine Arts. For the Martinez post office, Maynard chose a Gold Rush subject, *The Road to Eldorado*. The Canoga Park post office near Los Angeles was decorated with *Palomino Ponies*, a spirited scene of early California vaqueros with a band of running horses. In 1946, Maynard designed his last mural, a Grand Canyon design, for the Los Angeles Pershing Square offices of the Santa Fe Railway which, because of Maynard's ill health, was executed under his direction by myself and his friends, Ray Strong and Buck Weaver.

As ill health hampered Maynard's work he turned more to easel paintings, writing, and sketchings, until in 1943 the Limited Editions Club awarded Maynard the commission to illustrate their volume of Parkman's *Oregon Trail*. This



*In 1939 Dixon designed two murals for the new Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C. Dixon executed this cartoon (opposite, above) as an alternative composition on the theme "The Indian Yesterday."*

*Edith Hamlin recently restored Dixon's spirited oil-on-canvas mural, "Palomino Ponies" (1943), which adorns the San Fernando Valley's Canoga Park Post Office.*





*"Mountain Men" (above) and other bold paintings and sketches for the Limited Edition Club's volume of Francis Parkman's Oregon Trail ( 943) stand as the high point in Dixon's book illustration career.*

*The bold forms, strong composition, and shadow-and-light patterns of "Shorelines of Lahontan" (opposite, 1935), an ancient sea, are typical of Dixon's mature landscape style.*

American classic, illustrated in early editions by Frederic Remington and N. C. Wyeth, was a great challenge to Maynard which gave his lifelong interests and his now mature style a unique opportunity for expression. He responded with a distinguished set of tempera paintings for the eight color plates and over fifty pen-and-ink drawings and designs for the text, end pages, and cover. The *Oregon Trail* effort pleased Maynard, and it stands as the most outstanding work in his career of book illustration.

During the eleven years of my close association with Maynard we shared much congeniality and devotion, and his precarious health and years added a precious quality to our time together. No feelings of professional competition arose between us, and we both sought and valued each others' frank opinions and critiques. We delighted in planning and building two homes, one in Tucson at the edge of the desert and the other in the high mesa country of Mt. Carmel in southern Utah. The Mt. Carmel summer and autumn retreat looked out over a green valley to the nearby magnificent White Mesas, and Maynard made many sketching trips both near and farther afield for paintings in his last years. I remember that our rural Mormon neighbor-craftsmen who built the pioneer-style log and stone house from native materials and who helped plant blue grass and fruit trees in the meadow wondered, "But where will you keep the pigs?"

Home-town San Francisco was increasingly reserved for holiday gatherings and exhibition openings. In Tucson Maynard's field sketches and studio compositions were infused with material from his new permanent home milieu—the nearby Papago Indians, the local Mexican settlements, and the ever-changing and



dramatic weather moods of desert ranges and big sky. Major mature works, clear in form and fresh in color, which grew from this environment included *No Trail* (1940), *Oncoming Storm* (1941), *Open Range* (1942), *Background for Cactus* (1943), and *Drought and Downpour* and *Home of the Desert Rat* (1944-45). From Mt. Carmel between 1941 and 1943 came *Canyon Ranch*, *Land of White Mesas*, and *Juniper Country*. Expeditions into the northern Arizona Navajo country, the beautiful Capitol Reef of the Mormon pioneer settlement, and nearby Zion and Grand Canyon national parks drew Maynard, providing rich source material for his work, although he rarely painted or sketched without rearranging and composing the elements in his own dramatic way. The many small field sketches from this time are among Maynard's finest.

As I knew him, Maynard was a sensitive, intuitive, and complex person, with strong and independent convictions. A naturally warm and kindly man, he possessed a keen and robust humor, which was sometimes satirical as well. He lacked patience with hypocrisy and sycophancy and revealed the inner man to only a few, once remarking that some of the public preferred the legend which grew up about him rather than the reality. Among his artist friends in San Francisco were Gottardo Piazzoni, Ralph Stackpole, Xavier Martinez, Jo Sinel, and Harold von Schmidt. Earlier friends who remained close over the years included Charles F. "Pop" Lummis, Ed Borein, and Charlie Russell, and the writers Eugene Manlove Rhodes and J. Frank Dobie. Maynard valued, as well, the friendships of Indian trader Lorenzo Hubbell, other pioneers, ranchers, and miners, and Indians he first met on his sketching trips among the Winnebagos, Hopis, Navajos, Taos, and Papago tribes. Maynard loved America, with its traditions and folklore, deeply; a strong sense of its history permeated his writings and murals.

Creatively, he drew constantly and fluently from his earliest years. His free and flowing line and his understanding of textures, form, and light-and-shadow patterns that at once hide and reveal are as personal as his written signature. He took great pains to resolve these preliminary considerations before starting the final execution of a subject. A work started with a tiny rough drawing from life, from memory, or from imagination, and then the idea was reworked in many variations on the theme. Once he began on the final rendering, he worked very directly. Many works with which he was dissatisfied, he sooner or later destroyed. In his field sketches, coping with sun, time, and weather, he approached his subject creatively—discarding unessential detail, rearranging the composition instinctively, and memorizing the ephemeral elements he wished to keep. The fresh spontaneity of these smaller drawings and paintings is one of their great charms. While Maynard's style remained independent of prevailing "schools," he learned from many of them and maintained a vital interest in both ancient and contemporary art.

Although declining in health and afflicted with asthma and emphysema, Maynard remained productive into his final year; many decades of habit and discipline enabled him to carry on. For amusement he made drawings and watercolors of the guest ranch and tourist scene in Tucson, calling this group "Frontier Pants." In another series based on western ranch life and rodeo action subjects he developed his watercolor techniques further, with fresh, simple, and transparent clarity. Even so, he was restive, commenting to me, "I need a new direction, a





To the end of his long and prolific career, Dixon sought "to interpret . . . the poetry . . . of the western people amid the . . . loneliness of their country." (Above, "On the Rope"; below, "Cloud-drift and Prairie.")



whole new concept in my work." Lacking the physical strength to turn this corner, he turned to writing in his last months in 1946, with a series of short stories. Tucson, with Maynard's many friends, the desert flora and fauna, and the magnificent Santa Catalina range just outside his big studio window, was beautiful, but creating beauty was his true vocation, and he sadly missed it. To me and others around him, though, Maynard's life was a rich and courageous one withal.

Words from one of his own poems titled "Visionary," written in an earlier year, reflect his thoughts on time and change, his life and impending death:

Am I a fool  
in that I am deep-willed to seek  
always a vision  
known never to be reached?  
Yet, so having striven,  
having crushed my heart (and yours)  
against the hard will of the world,  
and though determination has grown gaunt  
with an immortal hunger,  
I am not yet resigned to wait.  
I am deep-willed to strive  
so that if old age, or even death,  
only make answer  
I still can say,  
out of all the intense devotion of my days,  
somehow here I have created beauty.

THE PAINTING "Allegory" is in the Daniel Dixon collection; the location of "Old Time Ranch House" is unknown; the drawing "Keep Moving" is in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, San Francisco, collection; "Shorelines of Lahontan" is in the International Business Machine Corporation collection; and "Cloud-drift and Prairie" is in the Russell V. A. Lee collection. Other items are in the Edith Hamlin collection.

*Sketch reproduced from Arizona Highways, February, 1942*



# Hiram Johnson and Early New Deal Diplomacy, 1933-1934

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EARLY NEW DEAL DIPLOMACY evolved largely around the debate over the collection of war debts, the question of an arms embargo, and the economic role of the United States in world affairs. In this atmosphere a debate on foreign policy began that revealed a decisive split in American attitudes. The supporters of Franklin D. Roosevelt felt that a return to the Wilsonian concept of collective security would help to bring about a more stable international order. An opposing group of congressional isolationists, including Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California, argued that an active foreign policy would serve the nefarious interests of the business community. The two groups engaged in a debate that produced a drift toward isolationism. This drift was accelerated by the rising militarism in Europe and Asia, the failure of the Geneva Conference to promote worldwide disarmament, the inability to outlaw or control war, and the feeling that bankers and businessmen were leading the United States into an unwise foreign policy. Eager to avoid the mistakes of World War I the congressional isolationists passed the Johnson Act of 1934. This legislation placed an embargo on lending to nations in default on war debts to the United States government, and it brought the forces of isolationism into the mainstream of American politics. As the first of a series of neutrality laws the Johnson Act began the process of establishing an isolationist foreign policy.<sup>1</sup>

In the debate over the position of the United States in international affairs, the role of California's Senator Hiram W. Johnson has been virtually ignored by diplomatic historians. The sensational munitions investigations of Senator Gerald Nye after World War I and the passage of more significant neutrality laws have overshadowed Johnson's contribution. As an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a man who had led progressive reform in California as governor from 1910 to 1916 before becoming a senator, he played a significant role in the triumph of isolationist attitudes; his approach to foreign policy epitomizes the "isolationist impulse" of the 1930's.<sup>2</sup>

This article will examine Hiram Johnson's influence on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from January, 1933, through the passage of the Johnson Act of April, 1934. This act was the culmination of the California senator's early crusade to isolate America from world problems. Examined with Johnson's

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## Roosevelt and Johnson



"For there is neither East nor West,  
Border nor Breed nor Birth,  
When two strong men stand face to face  
Though they come from the ends of the earth."  
—Kipling

*In 1912 California Governor Johnson aligned with progressive Theodore Roosevelt during the latter's unsuccessful Bull Moose bid for the presidency against Woodrow Wilson.*

economic reasons for promoting isolationism, it provides an excellent case study of a portion of the isolationist mind in the decade prior to World War II. While the common picture of the isolationist is that of a narrow, self-seeking politician,<sup>3</sup> nothing is further from the truth. Johnson simply represented a small minority of individuals who felt that war could be avoided through a highly restrictive foreign policy.

As originally introduced in February, 1932, the Johnson Act had nothing to do with directing the nation down a path toward neutralism in foreign affairs. Initially, it was one of three laws Johnson proposed to protect American investors from purchasing undependable foreign bonds. This legislation was the result of an investigation begun in December, 1931, on the fate of foreign bonds sold to American banks. The bonds, usually from Latin American countries, depreciated rapidly while Wall Street or international bankers often turned a sure profit from such transactions.<sup>4</sup> Public opinion was extremely sensitive to banking and business practices, and this made Johnson's proposals popular among his colleagues.

Johnson, arguing that the Hoover moratorium on debts was a device encouraging the fiscal irresponsibility of European governments, charged that only American bankers and business interests profited from reduced war debts. His investigation, for example, revealed that the J. P. Morgan Company profited directly from the scaling-down of the Italian debt. After a readjustment of this debt the Morgan interests lent the Italian government \$100 million. Johnson accused the Hoover administration of subordinating the public interest to those of big business.<sup>5</sup> His suggestion that the federal government had no intention of attempting to collect war debts paved the way for specific recommendations.

In a number of repetitious speeches Johnson argued that future credit must be denied to nations defaulting on war debts. As the Senate debated the debt problem in January, 1933, the California senator decided to expand his bill on the debt default of Latin American governments to include war debts. In a letter to his long-time friend and political confidant, Sacramento *Bee* publisher C. K. McClatchy, Johnson wrote: "I blew the lidd (sic) off the debt situation in the senate last Wednesday, because I thought it high time something should be said from the American standpoint."<sup>6</sup> Johnson went on to explain that his mail was over-

whelmingly in favor of collecting war debts, and he reiterated his often-stated remark that anyone who favored debt cancellation was in collusion with Wall Street. Once the American voter realized the dishonesty of European governments, Johnson asserted, it would be easier to achieve an isolationist foreign policy.<sup>7</sup>

By late January, 1933, it was well known that President-elect Roosevelt favored debt reduction for Great Britain. Because of this attitude a debate broke out in the Senate on the role of the president in directing foreign affairs. Johnson, an ardent Roosevelt supporter, stood apart from the debate, and he predicted that Roosevelt would not reduce the war debts.<sup>8</sup> In a meeting with Roosevelt in late January, 1933, Johnson informed the president-elect that the key to success in his administration was in naming a secretary of state who was not associated with big business. Roosevelt assured Johnson that Wall Street would not enjoy the same influence in his administration as it had in Hoover's.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, Johnson soon became disenchanted with Roosevelt's public statements on the debt situation. In a letter to Harold Ickes, Johnson complained that he was "utterly unable to comprehend what Roosevelt is doing in the matter of foreign debts, that he is putting himself in a position where he will get his fingers burned I think there is little doubt."<sup>10</sup> Johnson's correspondence reveals that he vacillated on Roosevelt's approach to foreign affairs, and uncertainty about the president-elect's position eventually drove the California senator into a stronger isolationist position.

An example of Johnson's position on future foreign policy was shown by his support of a "Buy America" clause in the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill of February 2, 1933. This clause simply provided that federal government projects be constructed with American-manufactured products. Johnson argued that this was essential because American goods were often discriminated against in Europe. It also fit into the California senator's philosophy that a self-sufficient American economy would protect the United States from undue foreign involvement.<sup>11</sup>

There were a number of other factors which made Johnson feel that Roosevelt's foreign policy might not measure up to his expectations. The constant cry for debt reduction from the eastern press and the publicity given to Senator William E. Borah's speeches calling for the renegotiation of war debts in exchange for a European promise to disarm bothered Johnson. It appeared that his colleague on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was moving into the collective security ranks. In a letter to McClatchy of Sacramento, Johnson wrote of Borah: "There was a beautiful tribute paid to him recently. . . . It was paid to him because he changed his views on international relations and was now the strongest internationalist there was in the Senate. It was no shock to me to read this, because his debt speeches showed what he was doing, and the trend of his mind."<sup>12</sup> As the Roosevelt administration made its initial plans on foreign affairs, Johnson expressed a similar uncertainty about the president-elect in a letter to San Francisco attorney and former Hearst editor, John F. Neylan: "In common with very many others here, I am extremely perplexed about the debt and economic conferences. Confidentially, I don't believe that the President-elect has very many fixed ideas himself. . . ."<sup>13</sup> Johnson's correspondence is filled with a sense of doom

about future foreign affairs, and it explains the fervid nature of his isolationist policies.

On March 4, 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated, and the problems of ending the depression began to push foreign affairs into the background. In that next week, however, the arms-embargo proposal was discussed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Ambassador-at-Large Norman Davis. They urged Roosevelt to support the arms-embargo policy, and, on March 10, the president agreed. The State Department then sent letters to the chairmen of the House and Senate committees urging passage of the proposal. By mid-March, however, a hitch developed in the administration's efforts to secure an arms embargo law from Congress.<sup>14</sup>

Opposition to the resolution prompted the House Foreign Affairs Committee to hold a one-day hearing. On March 28, three witnesses—Edwin M. Borchard, of the Yale Law School; Edward A. Harriman, a lawyer and lecturer on international law; and Major General Amos A. Fries, former head of the army's chemical warfare service—all appeared to oppose the arms embargo. They argued that a discriminatory arms embargo was a breach of neutrality and that it would eventually draw the United States into world diplomatic problems. Their cogent arguments placed the arms embargo in a precarious position.<sup>15</sup> As the House fought over the arms embargo, the State Department intervened with a plea for the passage of the resolution. Finally, in mid-April, the House passed the resolution, and the question of the arms embargo was sent to the Senate.<sup>16</sup>

On May 10, 1933, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee formally began consideration of the arms embargo resolution. However, in the week prior to this consideration, a split developed between the two leading isolationists, Johnson and Borah. Borah favored a discriminatory arms embargo. Johnson opposed it and argued that an embargo against an aggressor would unduly involve the United States in foreign affairs. The initial discussions prompted Chairman Key Pittman of Nevada to write Secretary of State Hull and report a division of opinion on determining the aggressor.<sup>17</sup>

As the resolution was passing from the House to the Senate, Johnson exchanged letters on foreign affairs with the distinguished authority on international law, John Bassett Moore. Johnson argued that the arms embargo was being used to bring false peace hopes: "There is such a strange psychology now in our country, and particularly in the Congress, that the mere cry of 'peace' roasts logic, and this cry is so convincing to the unthinking, that with them it is all sufficient for the destruction of any fixed and definite policy."<sup>18</sup> In his correspondence with Moore, Johnson nurtured the idea of an impartial arms embargo resolution as the most effective means of implementing congressional isolation.

The debate over the arms embargo focused attention upon Johnson's legislation to ban loans to nations defaulting on war debts. On May 8, the Securities Act of 1933 was passed to protect American investors from purchasing fraudulent or unstable foreign securities. This act reflected the feeling in Congress that economic involvement abroad was unnecessary, and it indicated the growing strength of the isolationists.<sup>19</sup>

As the Senate committee continued to hear testimony about the arms embargo resolution, Johnson became instrumental in the drift toward isolation. When the





*Senator Johnson (above, at left) participated in the Senate Finance Committee's questioning in 1931 of National City Bank Chairman Charles E. Mitchell regarding "entangling" foreign loans. In 1935 Senator Borah (photo at right, Borah on left) congratulated Johnson on their defeat of Franklin Roosevelt's proposal that the U.S. adhere to the World Court.*



committee resumed its work on May 24, Johnson offered an amendment stipulating that the president apply the embargo impartially to all belligerents. This radically altered the nature of the resolution by transforming it from a collective security measure to an isolationist one.<sup>20</sup> The idea for the impartial embargo came from Professor Moore and it reflected the "honest neutrality" approach to foreign affairs. This term suggested that a vigorous defense of American interests against both the Allies and the Central Powers would have averted U.S. entry into World War I. Johnson argued that past diplomatic mistakes should be used as a guide to future policy.<sup>21</sup>

President Roosevelt stunned Secretary Hull by accepting the Johnson amendment. The president probably agreed to the Senate committee's proposal because he needed the support of the old progressives to pass major New Deal legislation. It is also possible to speculate that Roosevelt may have been in agreement with Johnson's approach to foreign affairs. In a news conference on May 29, Hull expressed his disappointment with the Senate committee. He also argued that an active foreign policy was nullified by the impartial arms embargo.<sup>22</sup> The significance of the resolution is that it ended the viability of collective security and brought isolationist policies that advocated minimized trade and financial contact with belligerents into a position of leadership.

By the early summer of 1933 the influence of the arms embargo resolution was instrumental in shaping American attitudes on foreign affairs. Throughout the remainder of the summer, Johnson continued to hammer away at the problem of war debts. When England paid only ten of nearly seventy-six million dollars owed from World War I, Johnson responded with the charge that American honor and dignity was at stake in the collection of these debts. He also voiced

strong disapproval of the London Economic Conference. Johnson viewed such a conference as useless, because he thought it was below the dignity of the United States to barter over debts and obligations owed from Europe. The activity of the Nye Committee in 1934 and the popularity of the "merchants of death" theory have since overshadowed Johnson's role in helping to shape attitudes on neutrality.<sup>23</sup>

His influence is difficult to assess, but by late August, Johnson argued that Roosevelt's advisers were placing the United States in a compromising diplomatic position. In summarizing the recent debt discussions with England, Johnson wrote McClatchy: "I told you how much I regret to see the Administration, in the matter of these debts, taking its orders from Great Britain and permitting every little internationalist connected with the Administration to make such damn fool speeches."<sup>24</sup> Norman Davis was the most dangerous internationalist, according to Johnson, in the administration's foreign entourage. In Johnson's correspondence he continually complained about the attitude of European nations on the debt problem and the role of internationalists, like Hull and Davis, in hampering the implementation of a stern policy of neutrality. He also noted the futility of international conferences in solving even the most insignificant diplomatic problems.<sup>25</sup>

Because of his negative feelings toward Europe, Johnson continued to advocate a stringent form of economic isolation. The American investor, he proclaimed, as well as the federal government, must be protected from the pitfalls of foreign politics. Thus, Johnsonian nationalism promoted the concept of a self-sufficient economy and strict federal regulation of foreign trade.

Another part of Johnson's nationalism was the idea that federal regulation must be implemented to protect the private investor. He summarized his position in a cogent statement to President Roosevelt: "For some years now there has been complete accord among those familiar with the subject, that some method should be devised by which the ordinary citizen who held foreign securities might have some representation."<sup>26</sup> Johnson argued that the Securities Act of 1933 was not being used to protect the individual investor, and he noted the State Department's hostility to this effort. Johnson complained of the State Department's attitude: "To my mind it is perfectly absurd to say that it would complicate our foreign relations, or that we are bound to have controversies between the Department of State and the corporation."<sup>27</sup> Throughout the remainder of the fall and winter of 1933 Johnson criticized the unwillingness of Hull's department to supervise foreign investment. Johnson argued that big business had a stranglehold on the State Department and that the interests and welfare of the average citizen could not possibly receive the proper attention.

To remedy this situation Johnson began to suggest that Congress should legislate to prevent any sort of unfortunate foreign involvement from either government or private business interests. In a letter to L. E. Hanchett, Johnson expressed his feelings toward the State Department: "I am disgusted with the attitude of the State Department. I am unable to persuade myself that it is taken primarily to assist or even represent American investors. If a public corporation under the government of the United States cannot be formed to aid and assist our people who have been robbed, I want no private organizations which may

be, possibly designedly and possibly ignorantly, set up to protect those who are guilty of the grossest fraud. . . ."<sup>28</sup> The feeling that it was impossible to loosen the hold that banking had upon the State Department is reflected in a letter to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes: ". . . I would like to look into the minds of the international bankers of this country and see just what course they have charted for our Republic."<sup>29</sup> Throughout Johnson's correspondence there is a call for congressional legislation to prevent any future involvement in world economic affairs. The lessons of World War I, Johnson reasoned, should provide ample proof of this point.<sup>30</sup> It is obvious that the Johnson Act of 1934 was the direct result of the California senator's concern for the protection of small American investors and his feeling that the activities of the State Department could not be controlled.

When Congress convened in January, 1934, the question of the arms-embargo resolution remained unresolved. Johnson was determined to present legislation which would prevent the State Department from dealing with governments defaulting on their war debts. He summarized his feelings in a letter to the president in late January, in which he noted that, "It would seem logical to make it an offense to sell in the future bonds of a foreign nation which had defaulted upon its obligations to our people. . . ."<sup>31</sup> This letter, as well as a conversation with Roosevelt, persuaded the president not to oppose the Johnson Act. It is difficult to assess Roosevelt's feeling, but he probably supported the bill to retain the support of the progressive and Republican dissidents who followed Johnson on foreign affairs. Domestic reforms were undoubtedly of the first priority at this stage of the New Deal.<sup>32</sup>

On February 2, the Johnson Act began the final process of going to the House and back to the Senate for final confirmation. In its final form this act banned the flotation of loans in the United States to foreign governments in default in payments of obligations to our government. The act also prohibited the president from declaring a token payment of the war debt as meeting the original obligation.<sup>33</sup> Thus the president was stripped of some of his power in the area of foreign relations. Henceforth, only Congress could modify the payment of foreign debts. This began the "isolationist cyclone" which saw Congress isolate the United States from world affairs.<sup>34</sup>

The Johnson Act of 1934 was, then, the culmination of the California senator's campaign to prevent the State Department and big business from leading the United States into a disastrous foreign policy. The most significant broad conclusion to be drawn from studying Johnson's early New Deal foreign policy is that twentieth-century isolationist thought was a diverse and many-clustered phenomena. Much of the historiography of this period portrays Rooseveltian internationalists and Johnsonian isolationists as unified groups. As Robert F.



*Johnson, California's senator from 1917 to 1945 (when this photo was taken), lived to see the United States embroiled in the world conflict he worked to avoid and died on the day the United States bombed Hiroshima, August 6, 1945.*



Smith has shown, this is a grave oversimplification.<sup>35</sup> The differences, for example, between Johnson and Borah suggest the diversity of isolationist thought. In the spirit of the old progressives Johnson argued that foreign affairs led to a neglect of more important domestic problems. Indeed, the idea of continuing domestic reform was one of the main ingredients of Johnson's isolationism. However, the most important influence upon Johnson's policies was the belief that economic ties dictated political action. Hence, the early New Deal diplomacy of Hiram Johnson concentrated on developing attitudes that would support a completely self-sufficient home market. This would avoid, he believed, the entanglements that brought the United States into World War I.

THE PHOTO (top) on page 381 is from the San Francisco Public Library Special Collections; photo on page 378 from the Library of Congress; the others are from the CHS collection.

#### NOTES

1. Selig Adler, *The Uncertain Giant, 1921-1941: American Foreign Policy Between the Wars* (New York, 1965), pp. 150-183; Charles A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940: A Study in Responsibilities* (New Haven, 1946), pp. 117-156; Wayne S. Cole, *An Interpretive History of American Foreign Relations* (Homewood, 1968), pp. 438-452; Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Struggle over the Arms Embargo* (Chicago, 1962), pp. 1-80; Lloyd C. Gardner, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison, 1964), pp. 3-93; Walter Johnson, *The Battle Against Isolation* (New York, 1944), passim; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York, 1963), pp. 197-230; George E. Mowry, *The Urban Nation, 1920-1960* (New York, 1965), pp. 129-154; David Shannon, *Between the Wars: America, 1919-1941* (Boston, 1965), pp. 214-228; William A. Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York, rev. ed. 1962), pp. 162-200; John E. Wiltz, *From Isolation to War, 1931-1941* (New York, 1968), pp. 1-17. For an incisive study of a segment of the isolationist mind of the 1920's and 1930's as it related to early New Deal diplomacy see, Warren I. Cohen, *The American Revisionists: The Lessons of Intervention in World War I* (Chicago, 1967), pp. 120-143.

2. Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reaction* (New York, 1957), pp. 161-162, p. 241, p. 265. Adler's conclusions reflect his strong belief in collective security. This predetermined viewpoint produces some extremely negative judgments upon Johnson's foreign policy. See, for example, the following statements: "Hiram Johnson, on the other hand, was a staunch isolationist who wanted very much to be President. An intense isolationism was helpful to him in playing this double role, for it was a doctrine common to both extreme wings of his party. It was the main ingredient of Johnson's old-fashioned American program which, he insisted, would furnish all the answers to all our foreign, domestic, economic and spiritual problems." *The Isolationist Impulse*, p. 161. "... In the ranks of these die-hards were such 'George Washington' isolationists as Senators Borah and Johnson, who seemed impervious to the fact that nineteenth-century international law, defied and excoriated by the totalitarian brigands, had become an anachronism." Adler, *The Uncertain Giant*, p. 172. For a recent revisionist approach to the Johnson-Borah brand of isolationism and its attempt to avoid war as an instrument of national policy, see Orde Pinchney, "William E. Borah: Critic of American Foreign Policy," *Studies on the Left*, I (1960), 48-61.

3. Allan Nevins, *The New Deal and World Affairs: A Chronicle of International Affairs, 1933-1945* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 42-45. Nevins, much like Adler, is writing from the viewpoint of Rooseveltian liberalism. His description of the intent behind the Johnson Act misrepresents the California Senator's intentions. See, for example, the following description: "To strike at delinquent governments, Senator Johnson was willing to cause these citizens heavy loss." pp. 42-43. This erroneous description fails to point out that the Johnson Act would prevent the sale of fraudulent securities to American citizens and that the measure protected the small investor. While mentioning Johnson's hatred of big-business Nevins fails to point out that the act prevented bankers and businessmen from profiting at the hands of the small investor. In analyzing isolationist policies the

following literature is very important, McGeorge Bundy, "Isolationists and Neutralists," *Confluence*, 1 (June, 1952), 70-78; Alexander DeConde, "On Twentieth-Century Isolationism," in DeConde, ed., *Isolation and Security* (Durham, 1957), pp. 3-32; Bernard Fensterwald, "The Anatomy of American 'Isolationism' and Expansionism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, II (June-December, 1958), 111-139, 280-309. There is no adequate biography of Johnson and the study of his influence upon foreign affairs is limited to an unpublished MA thesis, see Robert S. Johnson, "Senator Hiram Johnson and American Foreign Relations," (Unpublished MA thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1945).

4. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making*, p. 6; J. Chal Vinson, "War Debts and Peace Legislation: The Johnson Act of 1934," *Mid-America: An Historical Review*, 50 (July, 1968), 206-222. For an analysis of the Senate debates on the war debts controversy and the general question of neutrality, see David H. Mickey, "Senatorial Participation in Shaping Certain U.S. Foreign Policies, 1921-1941," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1954). Essential in understanding Johnson's foreign policy is a speech he made in the Senate on March 15, 1932, in which he argues that the Department of Commerce was aiding American bankers in their Latin American enterprises. See William A. Williams, ed., *The Shaping of American Diplomacy* (2 vols., Chicago, 1956), II, 715-717.

5. *Congressional Record*, 72 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 213-214, p. 539, p. 6053; *Foreign Relations*, I (1934), pp. 525-529; Vinson, "War Debts and Peace Legislation," 208-209. For an analysis of the war debt problem, see Benjamin D. Rhodes, "Reassessing 'Uncle Shylock': The United States and the French War Debt, 1917-1929," *The Journal of American History*, LV (March, 1969), 787-803.

6. Hiram W. Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, January 8, 1933, Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

7. *Ibid.*; Johnson to McClatchy, January 16, 1933, Johnson Papers. Johnson wrote a weekly letter to his close friend and political supporter, C. K. McClatchy, each weekend to inform him of developments in Washington. Johnson's mania over the alleged influence of Wall Street upon foreign policy is shown in a comment upon his fellow isolationist Senator William E. Borah: "His speech was unquestionably designed to aid the cause of cancellation, and I have no doubt it was made in conjunction with the requests and views of Wall Street international bankers. . . ." Johnson to McClatchy, January 8, 1933, Johnson Papers.

8. Vinson, "War Debts and Peace Legislation," 212-213.

9. Johnson to McClatchy, January 29, 1933, Johnson Papers. Johnson wrote of this meeting with FDR: "I told him that, in my opinion, the key position in his administration was that of Secretary of State, that since 1920, the State Department and our foreign relations had been absolutely in the control of Morgan and Company. . . ."

10. Johnson to Harold Ickes, February 1, 1933, Johnson Papers. For an analysis that suggests President Roosevelt was not a firm believer in collective security see, Robert A. Divine, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Collective Security, 1933," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (June, 1961), 42-59.

11. *New York Times*, February 3, 1933, p. 4; Johnson, "Senator Hiram Johnson and American Foreign Relations," pp. 198-200; Johnson to McClatchy, February 4, 1933, Johnson Papers. In the February 4 letter to McClatchy Johnson continued to express his concern with Roosevelt: "I will confide to you that I don't like the way Roosevelt is monkeying around with our war debts." For an interpretation of Roosevelt's early foreign policy see, Donald F. Whitehead, "The Making of Foreign Policy During President Roosevelt's First Term, 1933-1937" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952).

12. Johnson to McClatchy, February 19, 1933, Johnson Papers; Claiud L. Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (New York, 1936), pp. 468-489; Marian C. McKenna, *Borah* (New York, 1961), pp. 306-318. For a study which suggests the wisdom of Borah's foreign policy, see Orde S. Pinckney, "William E. Borah and the Republican Party, 1932-1940" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1958).

13. Johnson to John F. Neylan, February 24, 1933, Johnson Papers; Donald Wayne Brandon, "Franklin D. Roosevelt's View of the United States' Position in World Affairs" (Unpublished MA thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1950).

14. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality*, pp. 41-44; *New York Times*, May 28, 1933, VI, p. 15.

15. Richard N. Current, "The United States and 'Collective Security': Notes on the History of an Idea," in DeConde, *Isolation and Security*, p. 47; Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality*, pp. 51-52; Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithaca, 1966), pp. 32-69; "Exportation of Arms or Munitions of War," Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 73d Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1933). For the classic analysis of what Prof. Borchard calls "honest neutrality," see Borchard and William P. Lage, *Neutrality for the United States* (New Haven, 1937).

16. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality*, pp. 45-47.

17. *New York Times*, March 23, 1933, 7; Wayne S. Cole, "Senator Key Pittman and American Neutrality Policies, 1933-1940," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (March, 1960), 644-662.

18. Johnson to John Bassett Moore, May 5, 1933, Johnson Papers.

19. *New York Times*, April 7, 1933, p. 30; April 16, 1933, p. 7; April 25, 1933, p. 27; May 9, 1933, p. 1; May 14, 1933, p. 9; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and The New Deal*, p. 50, 90-91.

20. Department of State, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941* (Washington, 1943), pp. 183-186; Robert A. Divine, *The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II* (New York, 1965), pp. 5-7; Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (2 vols., New York, 1948), I, 229; John E. Wiltz, *In Search of Peace: The Senate Munitions Inquiry, 1934-1936* (Baton Rouge, 1963), p. 172; *New York Times*, May 25, 1933, p. 12; May 26, 1933, p. 3.

21. Johnson to Moore, May 25, 1933, Johnson Papers; Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941*, 56.

22. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality*, 54; Hull, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 229-230; *New York Times*, May 30, 1933, p. 4. For a description of debate over the role of economic recovery as it related to foreign affairs, see Eliot A. Rosen, "Intranationalism vs. Internationalism: The Interregnum Struggle for the Sanctity of the New Deal," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXI (June, 1966), 274-297.

23. Johnson to Major Edward Wynne, July 14, 1933, and Johnson to McClatchy, June 4, 1933, Johnson Papers; *New York Times*, June 15, 1933, p. 6; June 26, 1933, p. 11. For a brilliant analysis of commitment to isolationist thought, see Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians* (New York, 1968), pp. 318-46.

24. Johnson to McClatchy, August 23, 1933, Johnson Papers. In light of Johnson's continual argument that England benefitted from the New Deal and American foreign policies see, Richard H. Pear, "The Impact of the New Deal on British Economic and Political Ideas," *The Bulletin of the British Association for American Studies*, IV (August, 1962), 17-26. Pear suggests that the New Deal had a very minimal influence upon England.

25. Johnson to J. U. Hemmi, August 25, 1933; Johnson to Charles L. McNary, July 28, 1933; Johnson to Robert J. Pherson, July 21, 1933; Johnson to Wynne, July 14, 1933, all in Johnson Papers.

26. Johnson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, August 26, 1933, Johnson Papers.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Johnson to L. E. Hanchett, October 14, 1933, Johnson Papers.

29. Johnson to Harold Ickes, October 17, 1933, Johnson Papers.

30. Johnson to William M. Franklin, October 23, 1933; Johnson to Hanchett, October 14, 1933; Johnson to Ickes, September 21 and October 17, 1933, all in Johnson Papers.

31. Johnson to Roosevelt, January 29, 1934, Johnson Papers.

32. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston, 1959), pp. 504-505; Vinson, "War Debts and Peace Legislation," 217-218; Johnson to McClatchy, February 1, 1934, Johnson Papers.

33. Johnson to Joseph W. Byrns, February 3, 1934, Johnson Papers; *New York Times*, January 12, 1934, 1; January 13, 1934, 2; January 14, 1934, 12; January 18, 1934, 15; January 30, 1934, 15; Vinson, "War Debts and Peace Legislation," 217-220.

34. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality*, pp. 58-59; Mowry, *The Urban Nation*, pp. 131-132; Vinson, "War Debts and Peace Legislation," 220-222; Johnson to Edwin M. Borchard, April 16, 1934; Johnson to McClatchy, March 11, 1934, March 25, 1934, April 16, 1934; Johnson to Moore, April 9, 1934; Johnson to Neylan, March 25, 1934, all in Johnson Papers.

35. Robert F. Smith, "American Foreign Relations, 1920-1942," in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards A New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History* (New York, 1967), pp. 232-262.



# REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

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## History as Community Education: The California History Center at De Anza College

"Regardless of his approach or educational philosophy, every teacher hopes somehow to get inside the student—to get under his skin—to affect him and leave a permanent mark. Without this hope we would be merely baby sitters and entertainers." Thus reflects Walter Warren, history instructor at De Anza Community College in Cupertino near San Jose, about his philosophy of teaching. Dr. Warren also is director of the college's California History Center, and so it is not surprising that this philosophy permeates the activities of the Center.

These activities date back to 1967 when an informal lunch group of Warren's students decided to publish a series of student research papers on local history. This effort evolved into a quarterly publication sold on and off campus and eventually into the creation of the Center itself. In 1972-73 the Center received a \$56,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to encourage the development of local history courses and materials for elementary and secondary teachers. A course on Bay Area history, involving lectures and field trips, was presented to over 100 Santa Clara Valley teachers, and grant money also was used to purchase media equipment, prepare programs, and hire permanent staff.

Today the Center gives three courses through the college—"Living California Heritage," "The Industrial Heritage Conference," and "Local History Research and Writing." In addition to the use of textbooks and classroom lectures, courses emphasize on-site visitation and primary research. The Center also is a valuable resource for scholars interested in the history of the Santa Clara Valley. Fourteen-hundred student research papers on almost every aspect of the valley's development are on file, along with a growing collection of taped oral history interviews, photographs, letters, newspaper clippings, and historical pamphlets. The student publication program continues and thrives, with nineteen titles already in print and four more on the way.

In addition to faculty and student participation, the Center has strong ties to the non-academic community. Two community groups, the "Consejo Historiador" and the "Amigos de Historia," assist in supporting, planning, and promoting the Center's activities. "Old-timers" are recognized as a valuable source of encouragement, inspira-

tion and counsel and are frequently invited to share their valuable experiences and perspectives through talks and interviews. As well, the Center organizes local preservation projects, the most ambitious of which is the restoration of "Petit Trianon," a mansion designed by Willis Polk in the 1890's as a country home for Ella and Charles Baldwin. The house is located on the De Anza campus, and Dr. Warren hopes to raise \$400,000 to transform it into a community museum and permanent home for the Center. The project is one of the city of Cupertino's major Bicentennial efforts.

Now that the NEH grant has been depleted, financial assistance comes from private donations, student-body funds, and, this year, for the first time, a budgetary allocation from the Foothill College district. The San Francisco Federal Savings and Loan Association has made grants totaling about \$9000 to support publication of three local histories, and the Security Savings and Loan Association has financed a history of Sunnyvale.

The California History Center is an active publishing house, a growing archive, and an organizer of local preservation efforts. But most of all, it is an extraordinary effort at community education, particularly appropriate for a community college such as De Anza. "The emphasis," says Associate Director Seonaid McArthur, "is on living history, not history that is learned in texts or lectures and then parroted in a bluebook at the end of the quarter. We want the student to encounter the historic site, document, or experienced individual and personally interpret and recreate a period in history."



*Focusing on local history, the Center's history of Sunnyvale discusses this 1907 food processing plant which employed nearly everyone in the area each year between June and December.*





*Committed to "living history," students at the Center spend time in the field preserving San Jose's only remaining adobe building (right) and examining a quartz crusher at Mariposa (above).*



**OPPOSITE:** The Center is working to restore the "Petit Trianon," a summer home built in the 1890's, which will become its permanent headquarters.



## Publications Available from the California History Center

Order from CHC, 21250 Stevens Creek Boulevard, Cupertino, CA 95014.

*Farm, Home, and Forge.* 1970.

*Diary of Cora Baggerly Older.* Diary of the wife of the pioneer progressive newspaper editor, Fremont Older. 1971.

*The Grizzly Bear in the Land of the Ohlone: Stories of life in and around the Santa Cruz Mountains and in Santa Clara County when the Grizzly Bear Reigned.* 1971.

*Palo Alto 1906.* Descriptive account of relief attempts made in and around Palo Alto for earthquake-ravaged San Francisco. 1972.

*Los Altos Reminiscences.* History of Los Altos, including personal reminiscences. 1972.

*Hidden Villa Tales.* 1973.

*Marina Memories.* 1973.

*Sunnyvale: City of Destiny.* 1974.

*The Costanoan Indians: The Indian culture from the mouth of the Sacramento River, south to Monterey and inland past the Salinas River.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. 1974.

*Local History Studies: A Style Guide.* 1974.

*The Center's publication Marina Memories documents the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and its disassembly, including the dramatic removal of the Ohio State Building south on San Francisco Bay to San Carlos. CHS Collection.*



## Book Reviews

THE EXPEDITIONS OF JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT. Volume II, THE BEAR FLAG REVOLT AND THE COURT-MARTIAL. Edited by Mary Lee Spence and Donald Jackson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. xlix, 519 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

THE EXPEDITIONS OF JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT. Volume II, SUPPLEMENT: PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT-MARTIAL. Edited by Mary Lee Spence and Donald Jackson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. xvi, 464 pp. Bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

JESSIE FRÉMONT AT BLACK POINT. By Lois Rather. (Oakland: The Rather Press, 1974. 108 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00.)

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*Reviewed by FEROL EGAN, author of Sand in a Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860 (1972) and The El Dorado Trail: The Story of the Gold Rush Routes Across Mexico (1970). He is writing a biography of John Charles Frémont.*

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Major historical figures deserve re-examination after long periods of neglect. Such is the case with John Charles Frémont who has been either hero or villain in California history for many years. In both cases, his true character and his contribution to California's past and to the scientific exploration of the West have been overlooked for twice-told tales that are good in the telling but not worth much in evaluating such a dynamic figure.

Since the late Allan Nevins last updated his biography of Frémont, much more information about the life and times of the man has been examined. Through the work of Spence and Jackson, materials from major and minor research libraries have been subjected to first-rate, scholarly examination. In these two books, which make up Volume II of a projected three-volume study, the editors have maintained their objectivity and ability to dig and sift the tailings of historical ore.

The years 1845-1848 were stormy and controversial for Frémont. After his highly successful second expedition in 1843-1844, he had reached his peak as a national hero. His reports were read by thousands of people, and these beautifully written descriptions of the way west were put to good use by the flood-tide of emigration bound for Oregon and California. As the editors point out, this was a restless period in the nation's history. During the three years from 1845 to 1848, Oregon, Texas, California, and the rest of the Mexican borderlands were brought into sharp focus as country destined to become key sections of the United States.

Using selections from an extremely wide range of correspondence that includes letters by Colonel John James Abert, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, James Clyman, Jessie Benton Frémont, Albert Gallatin, Stephen Watts Kearny, Thomas Oliver Larkin, Robert F. Stockton, and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo plus many others from a large cast of characters, the editors have given a chronological view of what was in Frémont's mind, and of what his friends and enemies were thinking at this pivotal time in American history. Then, to fill out the total picture, they have included selections from Frémont's *Memoirs*, Edward M. Kern's *Journal* of the 1845 expedition, the Articles of Capitulation signed by the Mexican officers when they surrendered to Frémont at the north end of Cahuenga Pass on January 13, 1847, and the order for Frémont's arrest that was issued by Kearny at Fort Leavenworth on August 22, 1847. In short, very little has been overlooked.

The only obvious point-of-view that is not given the attention it deserved is that of John Sutter. In that this volume deals with the conquest of California, the failure of the editors to make use of the Sutter letters in The Bancroft Library and in the California State Library is rather curious. Other than that, though, there is very little to criticize. A man named Brown was not identified; but if the editors had checked applications for pensions by former members of the California Battalion in the National Archives, they would have discovered that this was Francis Drake Brown who had come to California from Missouri in 1846.

In general, the key documents are included, and the presentation of these primary sources is a good step in the direction of pointing out the faulty and highly prejudiced view of Frémont that can be traced directly to the writing of Josiah Royce.

The *Supplement* is a complete reproduction of the *Proceedings of the Court-Martial*. The introduction gives a good summary and analysis of what took place in this famous trial, and the notes help to make clear the roles of the various characters caught up in a tempest that should not have happened. Yet, the give-and-take of the trial makes splendid reading, and it shows that Frémont was the man caught in the middle. Both Kearny and Stockton were tarnished by their respective roles, and President Polk appeared to be about as clear in his policy toward the possible conquest of California as a man asked to consider what should be done about an unexplored continent just west of the Mississippi River.

Altogether, Spence and Jackson have done a fine editing job on these two books that make up the second volume of *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*. A few omissions here and there are minor when one considers the task they faced. Throughout their work, one finds the real craft of first-rate scholarship—intelligent footnotes, an objectivity that avoids blind partisanship, and a highly creative organization of a mass of material. For this, all historians of this time of Manifest Destiny are greatly in their debt.

In contrast to the work of Spence and Jackson, Lois Rather's slim book, *Jessie Frémont At Black Point*, is in the class of amateur scholarship. Still, it is a nicely designed book, and it contains unusual pictures of the idyllic life the Frémonts enjoyed when they lived in the home they called Porter's Lodge. On this point of land facing toward Alcatraz Island, on this stretch of ground that was first named Point Médanos, then Point San José, then Black Point, and finally Fort Mason, the Frémonts entertained such guests as Thomas Starr King, Bret Harte, and Edward Fitzgerald Beale. This time in the lives of John Charles and Jessie was one of being intellectual leaders, patrons of the arts for the rough but aspiring new city of San Francisco. In contrast to the years of exploration and the troubled later years, life at Black Point was a high water mark of gentility for the handsome couple; and this short book about those good times is a calm footnote in the lives of John Charles and Jessie Benton Frémont.

A CALIFORNIA MIDDLE BORDER: THE KERN RIVER COUNTRY, 1772-1880. By William Harland Boyd. (Richardson, Texas: Havilah Press, 1972. x, 226 pp. Illustrations. \$8.00.)

*Reviewed by* PAUL W. GATES, *author of many books and articles on the history, issues, and uses of California land.*

Professor Boyd has capped his years of teaching, study, writing, and living in Bakersfield with this history of the Kern River country. Boyd is a master of the detailed history of the region: its geography, mountains, canyons, streams, passes, and towns; its early exploration; cattle ranching, mining, and the beginnings of irrigation farming; the



simplicity and crudity of pioneer life, the lawlessness and reckless disregard for life, and the finer side of human relations, as well. While writing what professional historians once thought of as antiquarianism, Boyd has eschewed efforts to glamorize the founders, has dealt fairly with delicate issues such as the "no-fence law" between settlers and cattlemen, has not made villains of land speculators, and, most unusual, exhibits no deep feelings toward the Southern Pacific Railroad and its promoters. Highlights of his treatment are the accounts of mining in geographical areas largely neglected by other writers; of trails, the building of roads, and stage coach operations; of the peaceful character of the Kern Valley Indians; and of the beginnings of mercantile operations in the numerous small communities fostered by mining, cattle ranching, and agriculture. The work is written mostly for local people, I would judge, who will not be troubled by the plethora of names that continually appear (in one paragraph, thirty-five names are mentioned). It is a synthesis of the best writing that has been done on the Kern River country, and there is a lot of it, as the extended bibliography suggests. But it is more: it is a balanced, judicious, informative, and useful book.

On occasion I would have liked more information, particularly about the Montgomery contract for the building of an irrigation canal and its long sequel, about the actual amounts of gold that were mined and the dividends that may have been paid on the more successful and long lasting of the mining combinations, about the size of operations of Miller & Lux, Haggin & Tevis, and Cox & Clarke, and about the water question. Research in manuscripts in the Huntington Library, the Bancroft Library, and the California State Library would have helped.

As a latecomer to the study of Kern County who has profited much from reading *A California Middle Border* and who is positively envious of the way Boyd writes so intimately of every aspect of an area larger than the state of Massachusetts, I hope that he will produce for us a sequel to this volume. To do so he will have to use the United States and California state documents and records of the oil and agribusiness organizations that have done so well by themselves in this lush country; he will want to deal with the battle of the titans over the waters of the Kern; he will have to study the angry outcries against the Southern Pacific for its treatment of settlers; he will wish to analyze some of the questions raised by critics of the California water plan. And, being a fair-minded, dispassionate, and tolerant Californian, he will forgive an outlander for making such obvious suggestions.

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LOS ANGELES AND ITS ENVIRONS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF A METROPOLIS. Edited with an introduction by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1973. xvii, 501 pp. \$35.00.)

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Reviewed by ANDREW F. ROLLE, author of *California: A History* (New York, revised edition, 1969) and of *Los Angeles, A Students' Guide* (New York, 1965).

Bibliographies are difficult to review. Too easily one is apt to characterize them as fleshless, monolithic entities devoid of human involvement. Instead, much sacrifice (and sometimes demeaning activity) may lie behind such books. In the case of this bibliography, the editor alone put in more than five years on the project and still other efforts were expended by his colleagues. All of this was done without royalties, payments, or honoraria, as a labor of love. When one considers the vast sums of money spent annually by a major city (and county) like Los Angeles, this niggardliness toward professional scholarship somehow seems wrong.

Originally, this volume began as the Metropolitan History Project, a plan to compile

a comprehensive history of Los Angeles during the twentieth century, conceived by the late Judge Fletcher Bowron, the city's mayor from 1938 to 1953. What finally emerged is this profile of writings about Los Angeles from 1900 to 1970. Four out of seven-dozen bibliographical categories reflect the major problems confronted within the area: education, transportation, traffic, and water supply. Other categories run from agriculture to welfare. The book's explicit author and subject indexes are also invaluable.

Sprawling Los Angeles is lucky to have inspired such a product as this. Probably no other American city (or county) can now boast of so complete an inventory of writing about it. The book is 501 pages long and includes almost 10,000 separate entries, including articles, monographs, and books. A careful perusal of its contents will indicate that only a few obscure printed journals remained unconsulted. The sheer bulk of newspapers and government documents about Los Angeles also dictated that these be deleted. Compilers also omitted popular and news magazines.

It is too much to hope for, and probably undeserved by Los Angeles, but the next step should be a bibliography of documents about that metropolis. If such a task is ever undertaken, it should be subsidized by a private foundation or other philanthropic institution. Scholars alone ought not to be the guarantors of a city's recorded history.

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THE RISE OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY IN CALIFORNIA. By Ray E. Held. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973. xiv, 203 pp. \$12.50.)

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*Reviewed by* JAMES H. REILLY, *assistant to the chief of the main library, San Francisco Public Library.*

This is the second of three volumes detailing the account of public libraries in California. Covering primarily the social library, antecedent to the free, tax-supported library, it follows Held's earlier *Public Libraries in California, 1849-1878*. This interesting volume sketches for us not only a well-detailed picture of the development of the "public" library concept to 1917, but also gives us an idea of the social and political scene of days which made this evolution possible.

Changes in library service concepts in the period 1890-1910 brought innovation to librarianship. Outstanding library leaders, notably James Gillis, bestowed strength on the growth and stature of the public library through liberalization of the concept of the role of public libraries and expansion of library service programs, formation of the California Library Association, establishment of training schools for librarians, and broadening of the state library's role from that of servant to the Legislature to one of leadership in serving the total populace of the state.

The importance of philanthropists such as Carnegie to library building cannot be overestimated. In spite of his buildings' architectural shortcomings and the usual delays attendant on construction, one cannot but wonder how different California library history might have been without Carnegie-financed library buildings.

Although some of the statements in the book may be considered assumptions and therefore not precisely scholarly, they do provide a feeling of authenticity and do not detract from, but rather tend to enhance, the narration of historic fact. Numerous asides depict life in those times in a homely fashion; for example, closing the library because it was too hot, or because the floors needed waxing.

*Rise of the Public Library in California*, with its well-documented factual detail, fills a void in the history of California's cultural institutions by properly placing the public library among those elements which blend to compromise the California heritage. Held's trilogy will be considered a standard for years to come.

CALIFORNIA'S RAILROAD ERA, 1850-1911. By Ward McAfee. (San Marino: Golden West Books, 1973. 256 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$8.95.)

*Reviewed by* NORMAN E. TUTOROW, *former chief of the Archives Branch at the Los Angeles Federal Records Center.*

In this new link in the ever-lengthening chain of railroad bibliography on the Central Pacific Railroad, Ward McAfee brings to the reader neither merely another book of facts nor an entirely new approach to the subject, but rather a fresh and provocative interpretation that suggests a new way of viewing many well-known events in the history of the transcontinental railroad. The author focuses upon the friction and conflict that developed as the railroad extended first into California, then southward, and again eastward to the Gulf. The author's consistent, pervasive, and persuasive thesis is that competition among the communities along which the railroad built is the basic element for explaining most of the opposition to or support of the Central Pacific-Southern Pacific Railroad. The contending communities were sometimes small towns, at other times larger cities, and on occasion even counties, all of which either vied with one another for railroad favors or placed themselves steadfastly in the path of railroad development to prevent at every turn its extension—extension which proved irresistible.

McAfee's major contribution to this well-known story—which at times he necessarily reiterates—is his discovery of the true motives behind the policies of these various communities in conflict. While these communities (whether towns, cities, or counties) insisted that they opposed monopoly in principle, particularly railroad monopoly, they were opposed in reality only to that monopoly which conferred more benefits upon their competitors than it did upon them in what became a mad scramble to secure positions of economic paramouncy in the quest for more people, larger government largess, and increased railroad business. Smaller towns sought the recognition that would come if a railroad passed through their centers, while the larger coastal cities were anxious to become the terminus of the railroad, a position assuring them economic dominance as the west-coast emporium for not only transcontinental business but international commerce as well.

After synopsisizing the oft-told battles over whether the railroad should cross the continent over the northern, central, or southern route, the author details the ensuing fights between communities as they tried to become railroad towns as the railroad pressed southward into Arizona. Communities that had earlier opposed the railroad "on principle" now found themselves bypassed by that road and thereby cut off from any hope of their long-dreamed wealth, while those that had supported the plans of the Central Pacific now found themselves richly rewarded by a grateful benefactor.

This book adds little to the story of the ensuing battles over rates as the Southern Pacific ran into competition from the Santa Fe; nor does its treatment of constitutional reform or the Progressive response to railroad involvement in state politics contribute anything new or important. And, at first glance, the reader is apt to conclude that the author's treatment of some of the central figures in this drama—Stanford, Huntington, Judah, Booth, Johnson, to name a few—is cursory; but he should not be faulted for not doing what he did not set out to do. This volume is worthwhile precisely because the author does succeed at what he attempted: he successfully blends a familiar story with many hitherto unused papers in order to substantiate his central thesis. And he skillfully interweaves over a dozen maps, almost 100 illustrations, and close to 250 footnotes into a readable narrative that, despite its popular subject matter, adds to the literature of that subject and results in a book that all California and railroad historians will want to add to their libraries.



ROUGHING IT. By Mark Twain. With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes by Franklin R. Rogers. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974. xiii, 626 pp. Frontispiece and Map. Paper \$3.95.)

Reviewed by RODMAN W. PAUL, Harkness Professor of History, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena.

This new paperback, *Roughing It*, is a somewhat truncated version of the meticulously prepared text published in hardcover in 1972 under the joint sponsorship of the Iowa Center for Textual Studies and the Mark Twain Project at Berkeley. The Iowa textual specialists reconstructed the first edition (1872) in such a way as to come as close as possible to Mark Twain's presumed intent, as distinct from what actually appeared after the copy editors, typesetters, and proofreaders had contributed their minor distortions just a century ago. The Berkeley people, with Franklin R. Rogers as principal editor, supplied an introduction and highly detailed footnotes.

In converting the Iowa-California hardcover into a paperback, someone made the major error of omitting the last forty-six pages of supplementary material without warning the reader. The result is that although the title page pretentiously announces "Text Established by Paul Baender," there is not a word in the paperback edition to explain what is meant by the title page's assertion. What did Professor Baender do to the text? How does this text compare with that of the first edition? In the hardcover, elaborate "Textual Notes" explain this.

If this paperback was intended for classroom use, as one suspects, then there is a second shortcoming to consider. Franklin Rogers' introduction was well conceived to meet the needs of an advanced scholar whose concerns are highly specialized, but since the introduction talks solely of the small details in Mark Twain's life during the months of actual authorship, there is nothing to inform the beginning student about Mark Twain's life as a whole, nor about the significance of his western years, nor about the relationship of *Roughing It* either to Mark Twain's other books or to similar works by Mark Twain's contemporaries. Nor is there any discussion of the nature of *Roughing It* that can stand comparison with the insight offered by Henry Nash Smith in his brilliant chapter on this subject in *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (1962).

## California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, be sure to give the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free.

- Abajian, James de T., Compiler. *Blacks and Their Contributions To the American West: A Bibliography*. . . Boston: G. K. Hall & Co. 1974. \$29.50. 483 pp.
- American Canal Society. *American Canal Guide* (Part I). Duarte: American Canal Society. 1974. \$.50; 4 pp. Publisher, 1932 Cinco Robles Dr., Duarte, CA 91010.
- Anderson, D. N., and B. A. Hall, eds. *Geothermal Exploration in the First Quarter Century*. Davis: Geothermal Resources Council. 1974. \$10.00 (paperbound), \$12.00 (hardbound). Publisher, P.O. Box 1033, Davis, CA 95616.
- Aquino, Valentin R. *The Filipino Community in Los Angeles*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates. 1974. \$7.00 (soft cover). Publisher, 4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112.
- Ave, Mario P. *Characteristics of Filipino Organizations in Los Angeles*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates. 1974. \$8.00 (soft cover).
- Avilez, Alexander. *Population Increases Into Alta California in the Spanish Period, 1769-1821*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates. 1974. \$8.00 (soft cover).
- Bean, Lowell J., and Thomas F. King, eds. *Antap: California Indian Political and Economic Organization*. Ramona: Ballena Press. [1974?] \$5.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Beatty, Donald R. *History of the Legal Status of the American Indian, With Particular Reference to California*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates. 1974. \$8.00 (soft cover).
- Buckingham, Thomas Hugh. *Rancho Lagunitas, Vacaville, 1880s*. Berkeley: n.p. 1973. un-paged.
- Catalog of Paintings by Theodore Wores in the Collection of the Saint Francis Memorial Hospital*. San Francisco: St. Francis Hospital. 1974. 16 pp. Illustrated. The Hospital, 900 Hyde Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.
- Cather, Helen V. *The History of San Francisco's Chinatown*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates. 1974. \$7.00 (soft cover). Publisher, 4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112.
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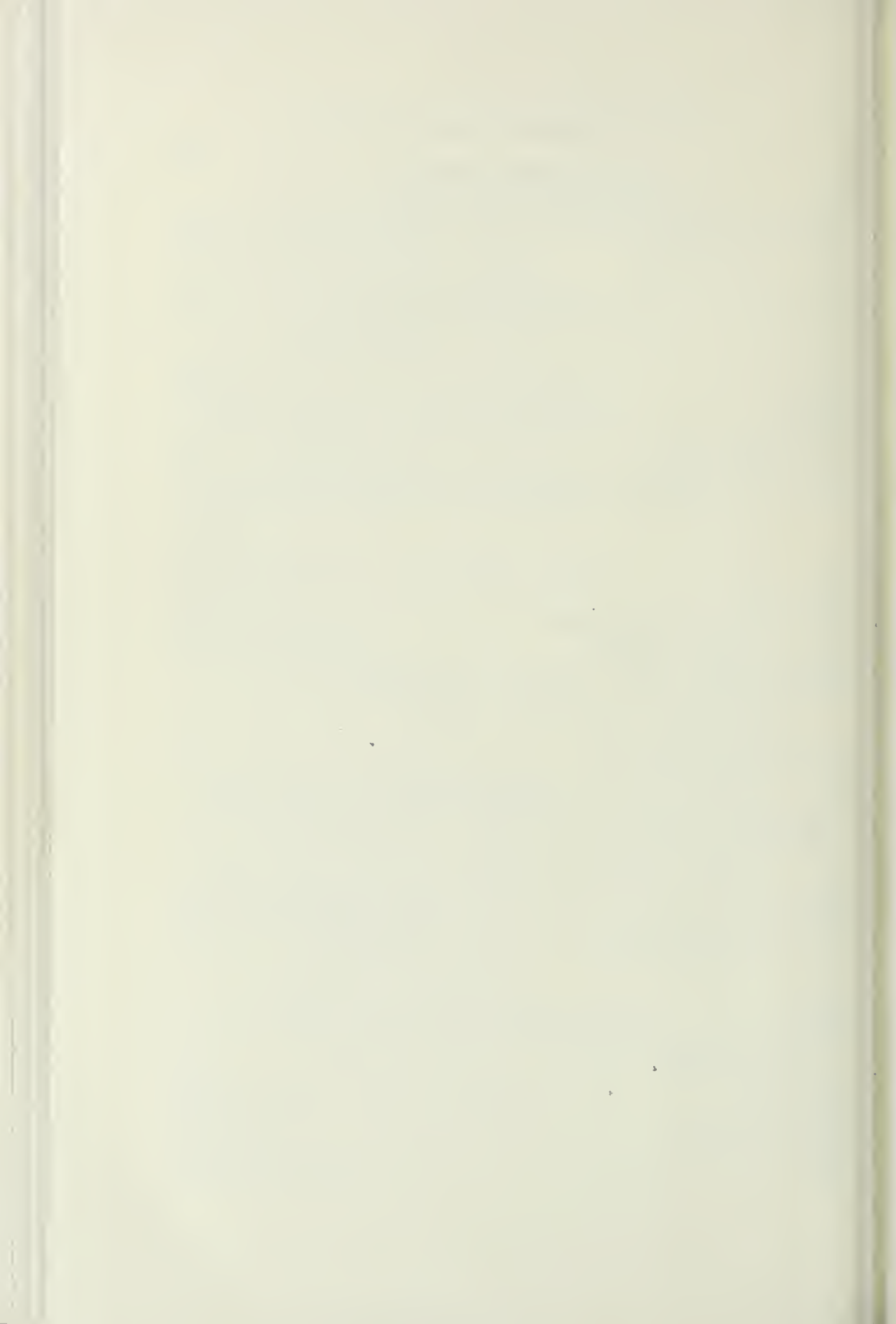
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